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Matthias Gish *of* White Oak

The History of an American Family

By

J. I. HAMAKER

LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA
1940

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INTRODUCTION

SOME time ago a well-known citizen of Virginia, in a public address, made the statement that ninety-eight per cent of the population of Virginia is Anglo-Saxon. More recently a writer in a widely read magazine says of Kansas, "The state's percentage of native-born population is the highest in the Union and probably ninety per cent of them are of the old Anglo-Saxon stock." In celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Andrew Carnegie the President of one of the great universities of Massachusetts said that he, Carnegie, "turned a corner, as it were, and the Anglo-Saxon world following him looked at an old problem from a new angle," and in the same address this eminent scholar speaks of a certain "Anglo-Saxon journal of science." This journal, by the way, is printed in that same German community which printed the Bible in German long before any English Bible was printed anywhere in America

and in which appeared the first treatise on popular education and the first religious journal, these also in German.

Now, for one who has not the remotest claim to being an Anglo-Saxon, such statements raise a number of questions. One might ask, for example, would the Anglo-Saxon world ever admit to having been led by a Scotsman? Or, should Andrew Carnegie be classed with the Anglo-Saxons, and on what grounds?

Or, again, where do the 650,000 negroes of Virginia fit into such a scheme of classification? Are we to understand possibly that the negro spirituals are among the recent contributions of the Anglo-Saxons to world culture?

But even if the negro does not count in the population of Virginia, there still remains a third or more of the inhabitants who are of German descent.

Similar questions might be raised in regard to the situation in Kansas and in another place, farther on, I shall present evidence that a very considerable portion of the population of that state is not Anglo-Saxon.

The answers to these questions naturally should depend on the recognized definition of the term Anglo-Saxon. But in this the dictionaries give us no help. None of the definitions apply to anything that has been in existence in the last thousand years. The English language originated in the language of the

Anglo-Saxons but as it is to-day the Anglo-Saxon element of it is only a small part of it. Moreover, if those who speak English are Anglo-Saxons then the negro will also qualify. And that is the only ground on which Americans of German, Irish, Welsh, most of Scottish and even many of English descent, could properly be called Anglo-Saxons. But that, I take it, is no adequate basis at all.

I do not propose to thresh over again the question of the use of the term Anglo-Saxon. It has been sufficiently and conclusively discussed by others, and the merits of the question are probably well known to most of those who persist in using the term. To me it seems to have less merit than the Aryan question in Germany, but the proponents of the Anglo-Saxon cult deride that of Aryanism. The pot seems to be calling the kettle black.

This volume is addressed primarily to those Americans whose ancestors came from Germany, particularly those who arrived during colonial times. This is the largest ethnic element in the population of the United States, a fact which in the interest of truth is too generally overlooked by those who should know and unknown to those most directly concerned.

Few Americans whose ancestors came from Germany more than two or three generations ago know much about their origin. They usually cannot say anything more definite about their place of origin

than that it was Germany—if it was not Holland, or Switzerland, or Austria or somewhere else where German might have been their native tongue. Nor do they know why their ancestors migrated, how they came, where they landed or what they have been doing since. It is for the purpose of making some of this information readily accessible that these pages have been written.

The American of German ancestry has no need to be ashamed of his origin. He can afford to hold up his head among his other American compatriots and yet there are many who seem a little dubious about their origin and some who try to cover it up. The reason for this is not far to seek. The American child, when he first goes to school and begins to learn something about this great country hears only about the exploits of the Puritan and the Cavalier. If he knows anything about his own people and recognizes that they were neither Puritan nor Cavalier nor even just common English he must consider himself an outsider. So, like Br'er Rabbit the best he can do is "lie low and say nuffin."

In pondering over this question of why the numerically great German element in America has been so inconspicuous it occurred to me to look for a cause in the teachings of our public schools. Of what I found, two facts may be referred to here as important. Both have reference to the make-up of the historical

text-books in general use in our schools and my findings may be verified by each one for himself.

Quite generally the books devote a great deal of space to the establishment of the earlier settlements without much regard to the ultimate importance of those settlements as compared to others that were formed later. In the same way certain persons are singled out for discussion without evidence of their proportionate influence on the development of the country.

Compare for example the respective merits of Raleigh and Penn. To my way of thinking Penn is incomparably the greater man in every way but especially in regard to his influence on American history. If any of my readers knows his Penn and his Raleigh he will probably have to admit that he did not get the information from his school books.

Penn's colony also receives relatively slight attention. This may be attributed to the late date of its founding but if the subsequent rapid development of Pennsylvania and her share in the westward development of the country were taken at their full value Penn and his colony would be better known to the children who pass through the training of our public schools.

Soon after the founding of the colony a tide of immigration set in through the port of Philadelphia and continued almost without a break and with swell-

ing volume to the outbreak of the Revolution. During this period immigration from England to all the colonies was relatively weak while the Germans were entering by thousands. These landed chiefly at Philadelphia because of Penn's special invitation and liberal treatment and also because of the discouraging outcome of the several attempts at colonizing Germans at New York, North Carolina and Georgia.

At the time of the founding of Penn's colony the other settlements were only a thin fringe along the coast line and bordering the navigable waters, with here and there a denser nucleus. The interior of the country had remained for the most part an untrodden wilderness.

Soon after the colony was established at Philadelphia a few Germans arrived and settled in the forest a few miles beyond Philadelphia and this settlement came to be known as Germantown.

But this was only the beginning. After about 1710 the Germans began coming by shiploads and these made a radical departure from what had previously been the custom of new settlers. Instead of seeking out vacant lands along the borders of the settlements and thus keeping near the water lines of communication, the Germans pushed forward directly into the forest where only scattering Indian villages were to be found. It is true that from Germantown small groups of Germans moved out a few miles to

the west and north, thus establishing the settlements of Skippack, Trappe, etc., in the valley of the Schuylkill, but already in 1710 a group of Mennonites pushed into the forest a distance of sixty-five miles to the west of Philadelphia and began there what was soon to become a well settled region. Nineteen years later this region was organized as Lancaster County. Lancaster, the county seat of Lancaster County, was for some time the largest inland town in all the colonies. 1729

Before long other groups penetrated much farther to the west. Crossing the Susquehanna and following the trend of the valleys they came to the Potomac and thus to an unsettled and unexplored region claimed by Lord Fairfax. Here a settlement was established about 1723. This was west of the Blue Ridge and in a most isolated situation. Later this small settlement suffered at the hands of hostile Indians and is cited here merely as an example of the dauntless character of the early German settlers.

Another instance may be brought to mind, that of the group of Germans who first accompanied Oglethorpe to Georgia. A large number of these soon found their situation uncongenial and under the leadership of Peter Boehler they came to Pennsylvania. From Philadelphia they pushed northward through the forest to the Lehigh where they made a permanent settlement near the present city of Bethlehem.

A good example of the courage and independent

spirit of these early Germans is afforded by the group who formed a settlement at Tulpehocken in Berks County. A brief outline of the story must suffice here. These Germans were sent over to New York from London in 1710. They soon found themselves engaged in a long struggle with the Governor in an effort to get an adequate assignment of land. At last, in the winter, they fled with their families into central New York where they settled among the Indians, from whom they bought land and with whom they remained for several years on friendly terms. However, the Governor also laid claim to these lands as belonging to the crown and demanded that they be purchased from the Colonial Government.

Finally a considerable number determined to move to Pennsylvania. They traveled overland to the headwaters of the Susquehanna and then followed that river downward to the mouth of the Swatara creek. This point is a few miles below Harrisburg. They then followed the Swatara upstream to a point near the present city of Meyerstown. This, in 1723, was the beginning of the settlement of Tulpehocken.

If our popular writers of American history go so far as to refer to any of these early episodes in German migration they are apt then to drop all further reference to Germans and leave the reader with the impression that so far as German blood in the American people is concerned it consists of the much diluted

population of Germantown, perhaps of the curious people of eastern Pennsylvania who persist in speaking a droll dialect and wear oddly constructed clothing and other like unimportant details.

A true perspective of the composition of the American people can only be obtained if facts like the following are kept in mind:

At the outbreak of the Revolution the total population of German origin then living in the colonies was greater than the total population of any one of eight of the thirteen colonies. All during the process of winning the west the Germans were present on the frontier all along the line. By 1800–1810 they were in western Kentucky, Ohio and Ontario. By 1810–1820 they were crossing Indiana and Illinois. By 1830–1840 they were settled in Missouri, Iowa and Wisconsin. In the decade around 1850 they were crossing the plains to the Pacific coast of California and Oregon and by 1870–1880 they had helped to close in on the last frontier of the great plains. These figures do not refer to a few stragglers or adventurers who would have been found even in advance of these; it has reference to the throngs who moved in and occupied the land.

A few years since I was present at a meeting of the Munich branch of the German Academy when an American exchange professor gave an address on the subject of the German element in American society.

In summing up he expressed the view that it was the German who arrived about 1848 or after who was more particularly important.

This from a certain point of view might seem a reasonable conclusion but the following facts tend to throw a different light on the matter and they have a bearing on the special subject now under consideration: The earlier immigrants were prolific—they had large families and were prosperous. By the close of the Revolution there were already so many in the country and were multiplying so rapidly that although German immigration continued all through the 19th century to exceed that from any other country it is scarcely possible that those who came after 1848 nearly approached the earlier arrivals in total numbers. It is true that a few of those who came later were men of outstanding character and were widely known, but over against that may be set the unquestioned fact that no other ethnic element in the American society was superior to the rank and file of the German. So we arrive at the conclusion that both in numbers and quality the German element here was second to none.

HISTORY AS IT IS TAUGHT

Now to return to the original question: Have our school histories done justice to the German settler? To get an answer to this question I have exam-

ined forty of the school text-books now, or recently, in common use. The results may be summed up as follows: Twelve texts do not mention Germans at all, six more merely lump Germans along with several other nationalities in a single sentence and three or four writers in a single sentence give only misinformation. Four authors devote a single page to the Germans and one gives two pages, which was the maximum of all of the forty texts. In general the briefer the reference the more likely it was to be erroneous.

A fair conclusion from this summary is that fifty per cent of our school books of history give no information at all about the largest single ethnic element of our population (1).* And nearly all of the others are inadequate.

The statement just made, viz., that some writers give only misinformation, should be explained and that can be done best by a few examples.

One writer—a well known professor in one of our great universities—devotes four lines to the Germans in America, the total substance of which is to repeat an old canard to the effect that the Pennsylvania Germans are the descendants of the Hessian troops who remained here after the close of the Revolution, this, when every child should know that at the beginning of the war there were already 200,000 Germans or

* Notes will be found in the appendix.

over in the colonies, that there were more Germans in Washington's army than there were with the British forces and that the first company of volunteers, from outside New England, to reach Washington's Headquarters at his call for troops was a company from Pennsylvania—largely Germans.

Another writer—also a professor of history in a prominent institution—gives just enough space to this subject to say that "by this time the colonists had learned that the Germans made excellent servants" and therefore encouraged the importation of that commodity. The evaluation of this observation I shall leave to the reader who shall have read the subsequent chapters of this book.

A third text makes the statement that two thirds of the population of Pennsylvania were bond servants. One might ask who were the masters? Further light on this subject may also be found in the present volume. However, it is only fair to say that in a later edition of this history all reference to the bond servant question was omitted.

Another writer says that the Irish and Germans were wanderers by instinct. This is a good illustration of how dangerous it is to couple the Irish and Germans in any generalization. They were antithetic in almost every respect. Certain it is that the Germans were not wanderers. Germans were always and almost everywhere on the advancing frontier but

it was not the same individuals. The Germans were, above all else, home seekers and permanent settlers. Those who were in the continually advancing vanguard were the successive younger generations and the new arrivals from Germany.

These errors are not mere slips singled out from an extended discussion. Such might well be passed by. In every case they were the main, or entire, content of the reference to Germans which, presumably, was intended to point out the salient characteristic of the German settlers.

A final example may be cited to show how perfectly absurd history may be made. This writer mentions the Germans twice, in both cases coupled with four or five other nationals. What she says about them is of little importance since in this case it would certainly be true that least said soonest mended. She says that between 1600 and 1700 the English had established twelve colonies and that, although the settlers came from various countries all spoke English and regarded themselves as Englishmen. It would be difficult to frame a statement containing so many errors of fact and implication. Instead one might offer the following as facts:

1. The English did not establish all the colonies—some were taken by force; moreover, it was not England as a nation that formed the English colonies as an extension of the empire but rather Englishmen,

as private citizens who wished to get away from an England which they did not wholly love, or, of fortune hunters who meant to make use of such lukewarm citizens for their own private ventures.

2. The Germans were often chided because they continued to use the German language, as many still do. Other colonials also clung persistently to their native tongue.

3. None but the English regarded themselves as Englishmen.

4. The Irish, especially, hated England, other Nationals were indifferent if not antagonistic and many of the English had no love for the mother country so far as her government was concerned, and were constantly quarreling with her up to the time of the final separation. It must be remembered that many of the English came to America because they were deported, others came to escape persecution and many came just because they could not make a living at home. The Irish particularly came because they were starving at home and they laid their troubles at the door of a tyrannical England. It is safe to say that only a very small minority of those who came from the British Isles were patriotic Englishmen.

Some of this history is written as if in order to be a patriotic American one must also be an Anglophile. Consequently the unpleasant phases of the colonizing period, so far as they concern the English, are passed

over lightly. In other words, much of the truth is suppressed so far as the teaching of our public schools is concerned. This is not true of all writers and for the American of German ancestry it is refreshing to have an occasional admission that the German had some, however little, share in the establishment of a civilization in America. Quoting from a text-book for grammar schools, in reference to the founding of Oglethorpe's colony in Georgia: "At first his colony grew slowly because it contained so many idle and worthless people who had not been able to manage their own affairs in England; but little by little there arrived thrifty Germans and Scotch Highlanders and then affairs went better." Another writer simply states that the Germans gave "stability" to this colony.

Professor Howison of the University of Virginia some years ago published a text-book in which he says of the colony at Jamestown: "Captain Newport arrives with a ship from England containing another supply of settlers and provisions. We find in the shipping list the usual superabundance of indolent gentlemen and dissipated cavaliers with a few laborers and fewer mechanics. But in this ship came eight Poles and Germans skilled in making tar, pitch, glass, mills and soap ashes." It will be interesting to read of this incident in the light of the "Invitation" which Penn issued to prospective settlers and which is quoted in another place.

Howison, by the way, expresses admiration for Penn and his colony but does not mention the Pennsylvania Germans. He evidently uses the Poles and Germans who landed at Jamestown merely as a gauge of his opinion of the character of the English settlers.

For the few Germans who landed at other ports thousands came in by the port of Philadelphia and they were of the same type so far as useful citizenship is concerned.

In Pennsylvania some knowledge of these early German settlers is common property but even there I have heard men, whose immigrant ancestors inscribed their names on the records at the port of Philadelphia, before 1750, speak of them as having entered through Castle Garden. Castle Garden became an immigrant station more than a hundred years later (1858).

Information about the Pennsylvania Germans is readily available and much of it in convenient form. A list of books and other references is appended at the end of this volume.

Matthias Gish as an individual is of particular interest only to his descendants and likewise a history of the Gish family need not hold the attention of any one not a member of that family for more than a moment, if it were only that.

In writing this history, however, I had something more in view. Matthias Gish was one of many thousands, possibly not particularly superior in any way,

and the family which he founded and which has flourished in America, was also typical of thousands, *i.e.*, typical of a large element of our American population. It is only that after collecting data for a number of years that I became interested in the more general phase of family history, for to my present knowledge no comprehensive actual history of any family, of the kind I have in mind, has been published. If I have succeeded, however imperfectly, in the task I set myself the history of this family should be in fact the history of a typical American family.

Any one of many family names which I have in mind and which would be familiar to many possible readers, might be substituted for that of Matthias Gish and yet all essential features of the story would remain true. There is no fiction involved in the recital. The whole story is prosaic fact. Yet it has appealed to me as fundamentally romantic. My great regret is that I have not the gift of telling the story as it should be told. I may plead, in extenuation, that at least I have held to the truth.

The material has been gleaned from many sources but never from family tradition, unless such tradition could be supported by documents. Since the Gishes usually owned land, their movements can be accurately followed by county land records. Many wills are also recorded and from such sources one is often enabled to reconstruct in outline many of the

customs which were characteristic of the times but which are known to the younger generations only by hearsay if at all.

As has already been indicated, distinctions should be kept in mind in reference to different classes of Germans and I wish more particularly to indicate what class I have in mind in order to forestall possible misunderstanding of certain general statements I may make from time to time.

Besides whatever characteristic Germans, as a class, may have that distinguish them from other nationals such as the English or the Irish for example, there are also certain other characteristics which may be used to divide the Germans into classes, especially when considered as immigrants to America.

1. The later immigration—that of the nineteenth century and after—was composed chiefly of unrelated individuals coming primarily to better their economic condition. That is to say, there was no leadership, no class consciousness, no strict compulsion. Each came as an individual who hoped to find some place where he could live more comfortably than was then possible at home.

2. About 1848 there was a period during which a considerable number of political refugees arrived. These were escaping from a Germany in which they had made themselves obnoxious to the government because of their political activities. They were politi-

cally minded and in that respect radically different from the last class to be indicated below. Being politically minded and having exercised a leadership which made them undesirable at home they had qualities which in many cases also brought them into prominence here. Hence the reason why some of them are so much more widely known as individuals.

3. Among the colonial German immigrants there were many Churchmen, *i.e.*, adherents of *the Church*. They were religious refugees in many cases and belonged to either the Reformed or Lutheran Churches. In many ways they made distinctive contributions to the society of colonial times. For the region which I have primarily in mind they differed in one other important respect in that they settled in the villages and cities rather than in the country. The Moravians were also of the Church and urban type but also had much in common with the next group, especially in the spirit of their religion.

4. The sectarians were decidedly anti-Church. They had broken away from everything which was of the Church even to an aversion to the church building. They were by nature rural. That does not mean that they were all farmers. They were quite capable of carrying on all the operations needful for life in the wilderness so that they were self reliant and self contained.

For their religious needs they reprinted the Bible of

Luther and composed and printed their hymn books when they did not wholly rely on the Psalter.

The Mennonites and the Brethren were the chief representatives of this class though there were many others.

The Germans of this volume belonged to this last class, not only Matthias Gish but thousands like him, and many of the families of his class will be referred to by name. The vast majority of their descendants have left the fold of the sectarians, many have joined other churches. But it would be a mistake to think that the sects are dying out.

"These are they who came up out of great tribulation" and many of them still prefer to avoid the easy way. So that they have not multiplied in numbers as have many younger churches, but they are not dying out.

The average American is hardly aware of their existence and will probably be surprised to learn of their presence in many unsuspected places.

GRANDFATHER GISH

GRANDFATHER GISH was born in the year 1800 and so he would have been about seventy-five at the time at which I have the clearest recollection of him. We were playing about the yard at Aunt Annie's when we saw his little black top spring wagon coming down the Maytown road. He drew up and tied in front of the house, though it was not necessary to do either, as the old horse was quite accustomed to these visits and knew the stops as well as Grandfather did. It would not have entered his head to leave the spot until Grandfather was again comfortably settled in his seat with a firm grasp on the lines. The spring wagon was a plain oblong box on four wheels with a plain black oil-cloth top. Everything that Grandfather had anything to do with was "plain;" that was one of the principal items in his creed and he and his creed were one.

To us children these visits of Grandfather's were of absorbing interest and we met him more than half-

way, with one or both eyes on his pockets. We knew that those pockets were capacious and had been filled when he started out on his round. But we were not the first stop. If he came by way of Bossler's Meeting House he stopped first at Uncle Ben's, and there there was a house full of grandchildren who made the first levy on those pockets; but we came next. If he came the other way around—by Conoy Creek—he stopped first at Aunt Lizzie's and then at Aunt Sue's, and that made a heavier draught on the pockets. But we never had any fear. We knew they were like the widow's cruse. We also knew what they contained. There was no surprise and no disappointment. Schnitz, or dried apples and pears, was always grist to our mills.

Grandfather would have been regarded as a curious figure by some of his offspring of today, but since he has had more to do with this story than any one else, he must be properly introduced. In appearance he was in no way impressive. Of considerably less than average stature, he bore nothing in his external appearance to suggest that he was anything more than an ordinary Lancaster County farmer. For many years, nevertheless, he was the representative of a family which, for five generations, held a commanding position in Donegal, a community of expert farmers, where even to maintain oneself, one had to be of more than average ability.

More so, even, than his horse and his spring wagon, Grandfather's personal accoutrements were plain. His shoes were always well greased, but never polished. His trousers, cut in the "barn-door" or broad-fall style, and of coarse material, had never known a crease. His coat was a cutaway without a collar. Around the neck it was cut somewhat after the fashion of that of the conventional clergyman's. His face was hidden behind a mask of untrimmed beard, through which there protruded a prominent nose; and above looked out a pair of penetrating brown eyes. Only the eyes gave indication of the dominating personality inhabiting that unpretending domicile.

There are several reasons why Grandfather may be held responsible for the writing of this history. Two of them spring directly from the provisions of his will, which is recorded in Lancaster. These had been consummated long before I happened to run across the document in those musty archives, but the record served to show me, long after the events occurred, why some things had been done.

During the hundred years after the first Gish home was built in Donegal, the original house and barn both received enlargements, additions, and changes, and there gradually accumulated around the main buildings an array of outbuildings of various kinds which gave the homestead the appearance of a village. It was for this reason that the Gish homestead was some-

times dubbed "Gishtown." Among the smaller structures was a rambling cottage built close by the main house and really in part occupying the same yard.

When Grandfather turned the farm over to Uncle Henry, he retained this cottage and lived there until his death. By his will he bequeathed the cottage to Aunt Fannie, his youngest daughter, who never married, and she took me with her to live there in the cottage on the old Gish place.

Up to this time, what changes had taken place were chiefly those incident to normal wear and tear, repair and additions. There had been no radical change or replacement of the old by the new. Consequently there had accumulated about the place many outworn and outmoded relics of the earlier days, which gave one an inkling of many things, then only part of the past. This partial contact with the earlier days of our pioneer ancestors, together with the recorded history which has been accessible to me, gave me an unusually favorable opportunity to reconstruct the past.

Another provision of Grandfather's will which had a vital influence on my life was the article which provided a small legacy for the two small boys left motherless at the death of his daughter Martha. My share came to me early in my course in college and enabled me to carry on without interruption until I

had finished. The import of these matters which I wish to stress here is the preponderant influence which the Gish family affairs have had in my thought and hence the source of the compulsion which has led to the writing of this story.

If these were not enough I might also acknowledge another debt I owe the family of Grandfather Gish. Besides his daughter Martha, who was my mother, and his daughter Fannie, who was my foster-mother from the time I was two years old, there was another daughter, Anna (Engle), who, though she had three small children of her own, also took on the duties of foster-mother to my brother from his infancy; and, in addition, she and her husband Uncle Ben Engle always offered all of us a home when there was nowhere else to go.

Grandfather's name was John, but he signed his name John I. This was to distinguish himself from his father whose name also was John. The *I* had no other significance. John's father was Abraham and it was he who established the family in Donegal. In 1785 he bought 600 acres in a single tract of what was, for the most part, of the best of farming land. At his death this was divided into three equal parts for the three older sons, Jacob, Abraham and John, in order of age, as directed in his will. This, however, left his four younger sons without farms, and there were none to be had in the county since at this time

practically all desirable land was already occupied. The outcome of the situation was this: one of the sons, Christian, married a lady of another Donegal family, which was well provided with lands; another one, George, moved to Dauphin County, which was cut off from Lancaster County at about this time; the other two sons, David and Matthias, moved across the Susquehanna westward to Shippensburg in Cumberland County, and ultimately Matthias moved to Ohio.

Abraham's son John had only one son, John I., who naturally stepped into his father's place and there was no occasion for splitting the farm again. In the meantime, however, a small tract had been cut off of the original inheritance of John so that there were no longer 200 acres and the farm was approaching the minimum limit for a profitable Lancaster County farm.

Grandfather John I. Gish had only two sons. His six daughters were all well provided for and Uncle Henry, the elder son, in time became master of the old homestead as were his father and grandfather before him. For his younger son, Benjamin, he also obtained a farm by purchase not far away in Donegal.

ONE SOLUTION OF A PROBLEM

This brings us to a crisis in the affairs of this branch of the Gishes. Uncle Bens (Gish) had a house full of boys, to say nothing of the girls, and, since he has left

no record of his concern for the future of these boys, it is left to our imagination to picture the situation. His farm was probably not of the best and certainly it could not be divided. His oldest son, John, was approaching manhood and the problem of his future was demanding a solution. John expressed a desire to go off to school, but his father was, above all things else, concerned with the spiritual welfare of his children and distrusted the influence of the current practices and teaching of secular educational institutions. As a counter proposition he suggested that John take an extended trip to the west. A group of friends in Maryland were making plans for an excursion to Kansas and Uncle Ben suggested that John go with them.

This was in the spring of 1878. In Kansas John accepted a position as school teacher and today, after a lapse of considerably more than half a century, he may be called one of the earliest settlers and oldest living residents. The accounts which he and the other prospectors who went with him sent home must have been stimulating for, as a result, a year later, Uncle Ben sold the farm and moved to Kansas with his family and much of his movable possessions. With him in the same way went about fifteen other families including those of two of his sisters, Aunt Anna and Aunt Sue.

Aunt Fannie and I were now living comfortably in

Grandfather's cottage and I was too much absorbed in those relics of a bygone age with which I played to be much impressed by such things as the splitting up of families, migrations, and frontier settlements. I presume we might have remained where we were indefinitely except for the changes that time itself was sure to bring about in us. Perhaps Aunt Fannie wished to be near her sisters but possibly also she saw that there was no future for me in Grandfather's cottage. She never discussed these matters with me or, if she did, I have forgotten them and one can only guess at her motives. But, be that as it may, when another year had passed Aunt Fannie and I were also on our way to Kansas.

ONE WAY TRAFFIC

The waiting room in the old station at Harrisburg was crowded. This was not wholly because there were so many of us. On the floor and benches were piles of luggage. There were parcels of all kinds: valises, telescopes, boxes and bundles and blanket rolls done up in shawl straps. Many of the parcels contained food and there was enough of it to last us for days. It was evident that we were off on a long journey and taking all our belongings with us.

Besides the travelers there were also many friends to see us off. Harrisburg was not our nearest station, but it was the main point of departure and our party

had gathered here from various points in Lancaster, Dauphin, and Cumberland counties. We were provided with a special train of eight tourist coaches and three baggage cars, and when we were all on board there was not much vacant space. We consisted mostly of family groups with a few young unattached men who were off to see the world or, perhaps, make a fortune.

The youngest members of our immediate group were a pair of infant twins and it was through them that I chanced upon my principal adventure.

Uncle Ben was with us. He had returned to Lancaster County to buy up a carload of horses which he was shipping to Kansas. The man whom he had employed to look after them and who had to travel on the freight train with them left his family in the care of Uncle Ben. The twins were a part of that family and so also became a part of our group.

I do not recall much of what happened on the way, but a few incidents stand out clearly. The great Eads bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis had been under construction for a number of years and had only recently been opened to traffic. It had been much talked about as one of the world's seven wonders, and the noise of it had even penetrated the quiet sphere of my life. And so I looked forward to the crossing of it as my boy did many years later to the ascent of the Eiffel Tower.

But the great event of the trip came unexpectedly; it was not on the schedule. Near Jefferson City one morning about daybreak our engine left the track. No great harm was done beyond the wrecking of the engine. This happened on the banks of the Missouri River in a wild spot where there was no human habitation in sight.

The delay of ten or twelve hours was a matter of small concern to the boys on board. After having been cooped up in the coaches for several days, the opportunity of getting off on the ground and racing up and down beside the track was more than welcome. Then the operation of dismembering a locomotive and rolling it piecemeal down the rip-rap into the Missouri River was enthralling enough to hold any boy. But not all day. So when Uncle Ben invited me to go with him in search of milk for the twins I was ready. And so we set out at random hunting for a settlement.

This excursion turned out to be for me a voyage of exploration. It opened for me a new world. We had doubtless from the car windows, seen much of the same kind of thing which I was now to encounter on foot, but not one vista of that four days' railway journey has remained with me. The sensations I received on that one hour's ramble through the Missouri bush I could reproduce in paint today had I the ready brush.

One hundred years of German thrift and industry had left no trace of the primeval land on which my

forbears had settled. But until now that was the only world I had known. But it was not only the rude soil and the untamed forests that were new to me; I was to discover a new class of people and a new mode of living.

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Uncle Ben and I soon stumbled upon a small clearing which was still cluttered with rocks and stumps. In the middle stood a small two-room log cabin the door of which stood open. I suppose my mouth also stood open, but I remember only that, while Uncle Ben made known the dire need of the twins to the woman who met us at the door, I stood and gazed into that place of abode.

There were two wonderful pieces of furniture in that room—wonderful to me though I later learned that they were perhaps the most common household furnishings in all America, but not in Lancaster County. To the left of the doorway stood a kitchen "safe"—a movable closet with tin panels which were perforated for ventilation. These perforations formed a pattern which I think is the same in all of these "safes" I have ever seen.

Against the wall of the room on the right stood a wooden bedstead of the "spool-turned" type. I think I should have hesitated to trust my bones to that flimsy looking structure. We carried our Lancaster County furniture with us and even in Kansas it was not until years later that I saw any other kind.

IN KANSAS

When we arrived in Abilene we were met by some of our friends who had gone out the year before. Now, since the object of this migration to the West was to find good land on which to establish new homes, none of us remained in Abilene. As we drove southwards across the Smoky Hill River we followed the Chisholm trail over which, just a few years before, the Texas cattle men had driven their vast herds to Abilene, which was then the nearest railroad shipping point for the East. The dust of those thousands of hoofs had barely settled over the prairie and the reverberations of "Wild Bill" Hickock's guns could still be heard, or imagined, as he instilled the fear of law and order in the hearts of those rowdy cowboys from the south.

Much of the country around Abilene was still open prairie, but settlers were arriving rapidly and we were among the first. In this we were but following the lead of others of our Gish kinsmen. For during the hundred and fifty years then past other Gishes had been continually among the first settlers in that long process of "Winning the West."

The east central portion of Kansas was in 1880 part of what Hamlin Garland called the "middle border." It was the last of the frontier and we were part of the last extensive movement in frontier settlement. It

was thus that I too became a "Son of the middle border."

Ten miles south of Abilene Uncle Ben Engle had purchased an eighty acre tract. On it there was a small cottage barely large enough for their family of six including brother Jacob. But somehow place was also made for Aunt Fannie and me.

But in those days no arrangements remained fixed for long. Uncle Ben soon built a larger and more comfortable house and most of the Pennsylvanians did the same as rapidly as the limited number of house builders could meet the demand. The homes of the Lancaster County farmers were almost invariably of brick or stone, but in Kansas they were obliged to yield to circumstance and built of frame. Otherwise, however, they planned their houses in the Pennsylvania style. Many also built barns like those so characteristic of the German settlements of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Aunt Fannie also soon bought a farm. This was two miles west of Uncle Ben's. There was a small house on it and one morning after a storm we set out to clean up the house preparatory to moving in. As we approached the farm and reached the top of a slight "rise" from which we could overlook the whole place, someone called out, "Where is the house?" Where indeed! It lay strewn across a forty acre field and I spent that day and some more gathering together the

pieces. This was my first and only experience with the proverbial Kansas cyclones. Nor do I recall that a cyclone ever dampened the ardor of the frontier settler.

When our group arrived in Kansas we found two types of settlers already on the ground. A considerable number of Germans, newly arrived from the old country, had selected some of the best land and settled down to stay. They were not adventurers. They had come to find a home and have remained there to this day.

Then there were the semi-nomadic Americans whose ancestors may have come over in the Mayflower or with Captain John Smith. They had taken up homestead or timber claims or possibly bought some of the cheap school or railroad lands and were ready to sell out for real money. Their personal belongings were few—a plow, a bed, and a frying pan were the chief items—and often all could be easily carried by a "prairie schooner" drawn by two horses.

For years the schooners with their adventuring pioneer families were a common sight on the roads. The general course of these prairie vessels was westward and they sailed under a metaphorical banner with the motto, "Pike's Peak or Bust." But occasionally a schooner was eastward bound and the motto then was said to be "In God we trusted and in Kansas we busted." They were for the most part a shiftless

lot and were unable to keep pace with their thrifty German neighbors. The spleen thus engendered gave rise to the saying that, "The Germans sold all that they raised; what they could not sell they fed to the hogs; and what the hogs would not eat they ate themselves."

Among the Americans there were of course also some permanent settlers.

From the beginning our group was numerous enough to be self sufficient socially. We had little intercourse with the others except in business affairs and among the children in school.

THE MELTING POT

This last, however, was a very important exception. The school houses dotted across the prairie in all directions were soon the most conspicuous signs of the occupation of the land by man. The school room, too, was the most potent force in the amalgamation of the diverse social elements.

Those of us who passed through the melting pot could not remain unaware of what was going on; not if we had our eyes open and, naturally, our attention was directed backward to the source of origin of each of us.

As our train rolled westward across the bridge at Harrisburg that momentous day, the older ones among us must have been troubled by many doubts.

It could not have been otherwise. They had left behind a social establishment as definite and fixed as any in the world. They had been born and bred under a set of customs, traditions and modes of living which for them had seemed the necessary conditions of life itself. Now they were launched forth on a course the end of which could only be imagined. For us it was as if we were taking part in the first migration mankind had ever made. And yet it did not occur to us that we were making history.

Our train had been preceded by many other similar trains bound from Harrisburg for the West. And it was a one-way traffic. Those trains returned empty. And before there were trains, or a railroad, or a bridge, at Harrisburg, there were roads and Harris' ferry; and before there were roads, there were trails or trails to be made. But what have such things to do with the Gish family? That was a matter we knew little about at the time when we were playing a star rôle in this drama.

It was known to some that in the early days a Gish of our kinship had gone to Virginia and it was also known that more recently some Gishes had moved to Ohio.

With a better perspective and the records on file in many dusty archives we can now piece together a long and continuous story of the part played by the Gish family in the Winning of the West.

More than a hundred years before we took one-way passage across the Susquehanna, the vanguard of the Gishes set out with the Conestoga Wagons over the same route. From that time on some members of the family were always and everywhere on the advancing frontier.

DONEGAL

Donegal sounds Irish, but for a hundred years German was the language most frequently heard within the borders of this township. Among the earliest settlers there were a number of Scotch-Irish who built a Presbyterian church at Donegal Springs, and when the county was organized in 1729 a large section in the northwest part of the county was called Donegal. With the rising tide of German immigration which began about this time Donegal as well as much of the rest of the county was taken up by the Germans. Even of the original Irish many sold out to the Germans and it was a common saying that there were only enough Irish to fill the public offices, with which the Germans, for the most part, would have nothing to do. The tax assessor's list for Donegal in 1802 contained 219 names which were German, presumably, to 58 that would be classed as British or Irish. The Germans were on the farms while the Irish were to be found in the villages.

Grandfather, John I., was born in Donegal, and it

was a matter of record that his grandfather, Abraham Gish, settled there in 1785 on a tract of about 600 acres, part of which he had bought of a certain John Mease of Philadelphia. Mease, apparently, represents a type, common in those days as ever since, of land holders who bought land only to sell again at the first opportunity of making a profit. Abraham Gish, on the other hand, like most of his German neighbors, bought land primarily to establish a home. Theophile Casenova, a Frenchman who traveled through this district in 1794 said the Germans own all the farms and they do not sell. But more of this later. Here I want to raise the question of the antecedents of Abraham Gish himself and the place of his origin.

More than 150 years after Abraham's appearance in Donegal someone published a statement in one of those commercial enterprises known as county histories to the effect that Abraham was born in Germany and came to this country accompanied by two brothers. All of this turns out to be a myth based on a misinterpretation of certain facts. No records have been found to substantiate it. On the contrary, there is an abundance of records which carries the history of the family back to the year 1733.

MATTHIAS GISCH

Among Rupp's "30,000 names" occurs that of Matthias Gisch who arrived at Philadelphia on the

Pennsylvania Merchant in September of 1733. But nothing further was known of him or that he had any connection with our family.

Repeated search through the court records at Lancaster by myself and others failed to give any information about this Gisch until, quite by accident, I learned that he had received a grant of land from the Penns under the name of Matthew Keach. The ice having thus been broken further progress was comparatively simple. Matthias Gisch was one of the first settlers of Lancaster County and was the father not only of Abraham but also of four other sons and of three daughters. All these children were born in Lancaster County, and so far as any definite information goes, they were the progenitors of all the Gish families in America, which date from Colonial times.

All this is established by court records and the incident may serve as a gauge of the value of family traditions.

In the official language of the port of Philadelphia during the eighteenth century while so many German-speaking immigrants were arriving there, it became customary to call all the German immigrants Palatines. Later they were more frequently called foreigners; occasionally Germany and sometimes the particular states of Germany from which they came were named. On the 1733 voyage of the Pennsylvania Merchant the passengers, as a group, are called

Palatines but we know that nineteen of them were Schwenkfelders who came directly from Saxony.

Among the other passengers there were a number of German Baptists led by their pastor Johannes Naas. These came from various places in the Rhine Valley including some from the Palatinate. It is probable that Matthias Gisch belonged to this group because we find him associated with them later and actually enrolled as a member of the Church of the Brethren.

Few families have preserved any documents which throw light on their history farther back than two or three generations, and in this regard the Gishes were not exceptional. As to their origin beyond the sea, after a lapse of 200 years, only in the rarest instances are there any private documents preserved. On this point the Gishes in America have sometimes said they came from Germany, sometimes from the Palatinate, and sometimes from Switzerland.

Unquestionably many families of the clan to which the Gishes belonged were Swiss, some also were Palatines and some came from the lower Rhine Valley. But the homeland of the Gishes eluded my search, though I traveled frequently and extensively over much of western Europe, especially in Germany and Switzerland and availed myself of every opportunity to consult library catalogues, telephone and business directories and various other possible sources of information.

Single individuals or families of the name of Gisch or Kisch were to be found in London, Paris, Vienna, Munich, Halle, etc., and even as far as the East Indies but no where did they seem to be at home.

The name Kis—pronounced as if it ended with sch—is a common Hungarian name and there are Jewish families named Kisch in Prague. It has also frequently been suggested that there may be some connection with the Biblical name Kish which is manifestly an absurdity for family names, as we know them, did not exist much over a thousand years ago and the German Jews were among the last to take on family names.

One of the difficulties, from the first, was the doubt about the correct form of the name, *i.e.*, the original form. This question arises in connection with most names but especially with German names which have been transported to an English speaking environment. During about one hundred years after Matthias Gish arrived in America the name was written Gisch and Kisch, with almost equal frequency but the G was usually, or always, used in signatures while the K was used quite generally in legal documents.

We may infer from this that the English speaking scrivener who wrote the name wrote it as he heard it and he interpreted it as Kisch.

Now in Germany we find both forms of the name but that with the K I encountered long before I

found anyone whose name was Gisch. I am still in doubt whether these are two forms of the same name or that they represent distinct families. I am inclined to regard them as the same name, especially because of the way they are located geographically.

Assuming the names to be the same I now know of two or three localities where they occur as if in their original home.

One of these is in Roumania in the vicinity of Hermanstadt. There is here a settlement of Germans known as "Saxon Germans." They were brought to this place so long ago that they have no certain historical record of it. However, it is said that they were brought from the lower Rhine country to repopulate a region which had been devastated by war. The date of this resettlement is variously given as from four to seven hundred years ago.

Professor Gustaf Kisch of the University of Cluj (Klausenburg) is a member of this branch of the Kisch family and has made an exhaustive study of the question of the origin of these so-called Saxon Germans. On linguistic grounds he concludes that they came originally from the region west of Trier on the German border of Luxemburg. The German dialect used in both places is the same and the same place names and the same family names occur.

From these facts we are led to the conclusion that the Kisch families of Hermanstadt and those of Lux-

emburg have both been where they now are at least 400 years.

On the other side of Trier, in Birkenfeld and Saarbrucken, we find settlements of Gisch families. From local records these are known to have been here for over 200 years.

Professor Kisch is of the opinion that the name Kisch was derived from Kirsch—the German for cherry because in the local dialect the pronunciation is the same. I have found no meaning suggested for Gisch.

I have arrived at the tentative conclusion that the two names were originally the same, that the difference in spelling arose as a result of geographic isolation and that this in turn resulted from religious differences.

The Luxemburger Kisches are Catholic, the Kisches of Transylvania and the Gisches of Birkenfeld are Protestant.

When the foregoing paragraphs were written, I had no hope that we should ever know more exactly where Matthias Gisch originated than that it was somewhere in the vicinity of Trier. But now at the last moment there have been published some old eighteenth century documents which tell of the departure of emigrants from various localities in Birkenfeld, Saarbrucken and the Pfalz. Among these in the records of Nohfelden, occurs the announcement

that *Matthias Gisch of Asweiler has departed for America* (2).

We might therefore let this simple statement take the place of the argument of the preceding paragraphs, but I shall let the text stand as it is for two reasons, one for the information concerning the occurrence of Gish families in Europe. The other reason is that here we have an example of how the difference in social and economic conditions in Europe and America affected the fortunes of these families during a period of 200–400 years. The family names are deeply rooted in the soil, almost as immovably fixed as are place names and yet there is a definite limit to the multiplication of individuals which one would expect with the lapse of time. Professor Kisch says he has met every one of the *eighty* Kisches in Luxemburg. This eighty remaining after the lapse of 400 years may be compared to the *thousands* of offspring of Matthias Gisch after only 200 years.

ASWEILER

Asweiler is a small village near the extreme southeastern border of Birkenfeld. Before the Congress of Vienna made over the map of Europe it probably was part of the Duchy of Saarbrucken and if so had been under the sway of Napoleon, as part of France, for the last ten or twelve years of his reign. It lies in a small valley, within a mile or two of the very head-

waters of the Nahe, and if we were to follow the little stream that flows to the north we would come to another village which was also the home of Gisch families. This is Wolfersweiler. A little farther on we come to Nohfelden and then up another branch of the Nahe lies Birkenfeld; the capital of the Principality. All this within a distance of about fifteen miles.

To the south, over the hills, lies the modern industrial district known as the Saar basin. Here there are several towns and cities of considerable importance, such as Neunkirchen, Saarbrucken, Saarlouis, and Saargemund, which also have had an interesting past but through the development of the industries tributary to coal and iron these towns have taken on a very different aspect since the time of Matthias Gisch.

It is the city of Trier, however, which dominates this entire region. It is one of the oldest in Germany and was for a time one of the most important cities of the Roman Empire. Later it became important as the seat of an Archbishop and as such the capital city of the Archdiocese of Churtrier. This extended as far as the banks of the Rhine and even at one time beyond the Rhine. The Archbishop of Trier was for a long time one of the seven, or nine, Electors of the Holy Roman Empire—an office of great influence.

Asweiler was not always within the domain of Churtrier but I think there can be no doubt that the

influence of The Church was always felt in a small hamlet that lay no more than twenty-five miles from one of her most potent centers.

Trier lay to the west while on the east, and not so far away, was that vague district called the Palatinate. I say vague, because its boundaries were forever changing and there was no capital that formed a center which one could locate for long on the map. The Palatinate was the domain of one of the Electors who was usually not at home. Since this elector was not a prelate he was not always so zealous in prosecuting the interests of the church and so permitted at times considerable freedom in matters of religion.

Asweiler doubtless at times was included within the domain of the Palatinate. Whether it was in 1733 I cannot say. But it is quite certain that the inhabitants of Asweiler were fully aware of the austere regimen of the Church on the one side and the liberties, not to say licence in matters religious, which were permitted on the other.

Many reasons might be suggested why a young man should leave Asweiler, and to-day it would be a simple matter to plan and carry out. But in 1733 the situation was very different. Just to leave one's native village permanently, to live in some other part of Germany involved sacrifices we in America of to-day can scarcely imagine. But to leave Germany for the wilds of Pennsylvania meant that there were reasons

so compelling that they could not be withstood; reasons involving life and death or matters even more precious.

If one were to make a list of the reasons for leaving and the difficulties to be overcome most of them might seem to be man-made but there are some that can hardly be named or described but which have to be lived or experienced and these may be the most potent of all.

One may ask for example how is it possible for one to deliberately leave the loveliest land in all the world, but, if you were not a Rhine-lander you would immediately ask is it the loveliest land?

Berkenfeld lies in the very center of western Europe—the point about which the great history making events of the last two thousand years have revolved. And yet probably not one of a thousand American tourists has seen it or even heard of it. It is the fashion to make a trip up or down the Rhine and take a look at Cologne Cathedral but that is not seeing the Rhine, much less knowing it.

"KENNST DU DAS LAND?" (3)

"Though every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

BISHOP HEBER.

. . . "No stream has played so important a part in the affairs of the world, none has such a claim to the interest of mankind. Upon its banks (beautiful stage for such grand acts) Caesar, Charlemagne, Gustavus Adolphus and Napoleon have fought; Tacitus and Luther have written; Gutenburg and Caxton have worked. Here sang the Minnesingers and here Goethe and Schiller and Byron have poured forth the tones of their inspiration."

"I cannot and will not describe that day's voyage. Sages have written folios about this stream and poets have enshrined its beauty and its romance in the altar of breathing and immortal words. How can I then hope to add a single thought to this collection? I saw it all—those places,—the *Mouse Tower*, the *Church of Werner*, *Ehrenbreitstein*, the *Lurlei*, *Roland's Eck*, *Drachenfels*—which had been household words to me so long and the sight of which filled a void in my soul that had existed for years. . . ."

. . . "But a rebuking voice seemed to come out of those picturesque and mossy piles of stones and out of those traditionary hills and rocks: *I am the spirit of bloodshed, sorrow and crime, and I have given to the lordly Rhine its romance and interest.*"

Bayard Taylor.

THE German migration to Pennsylvania of the eighteenth century had little in common with that which took place after the year 1800. Europe had greatly changed in the interval and it was also a very different America to which the immigrants came. But there was a still greater difference in the character of the immigrants and the reasons which moved them to the great adventure. Nor is it possible to get an adequate conception of the forces involved from a reading of any of the ordinary text-books of history—either of Europe or of America.

It may be that there are some countries which are of such a nature that it does not require any great stimulus to get its inhabitants to move on if some slight advantage is offered elsewhere. But in most cases, I think, the land holds its natives with ties that are hard to break.

Anyhow for the Rhineland I think this is especially true and it seems to me very important to get some kind of a picture of the fatherland in mind if one would understand the events with which we are concerned.

THE FATHERLAND

It will not be necessary, or possible, to cover all of Germany or even all of the Rhineland. A small area will give us more than we can adequately cover here and it was only a small world in which Matthias

Gisch lived, yet it was crowded with people and events.

An excellent point from which to begin a survey of this little world would be the *Deutsches Eck*. If we mount the broad flight of steps that lead to the terrace on which the heroic statue of Emperor "William the Great" rests we can see up and down the Rhine and up the valley of the Mosel. I have called it a little world because I shall confine myself in this description to an area no larger than the four Pennsylvania counties of Lancaster, Dauphin, Lebanon, and Berks, and though the area is small, many events of world-wide interest have occurred here and many of the world's greatest men have been born and have lived within its confines.

Here we stand in the very center of modern Europe and it has been the center of a ceaseless struggle for 2000 years. For nearly 500 years it marked the boundary of the Roman Empire. At the time when Jesus was walking the streets of Jerusalem Roman soldiers were here keeping watch on the Rhine. But they were facing the other way from the present watch. Coblenz, Cologne, and Mainz were three of the most important Roman outposts, but many other points on the left side of the Rhine have a history dating back to the time of the Roman occupation. These towns on the Roman border were not merely military camps. All the arts and refinements of the

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civilization of the south were established here and even the imperial court itself was often not far away. Constantine the Great made Trier his residence for many years and his wife was born in Cologne.

The people who occupied the land within the Roman lines were Gallic while those across the river and facing the Roman guard for those hundreds of years were savage barbaric tribes of Germanic race. At an early date while the great tribal migrations were taking place throughout northern Europe a race, long called the Franks, established itself along the middle and lower reaches of the Rhine on the eastern shore. It is with the Franks of the middle Rhine that we are here concerned. While other Germanic tribes to the east and west broke through or went around the Roman lines and migrated far to the south, penetrating as far as Italy, Spain, and Africa, the Middle Franks were content to cross the Rhine, as the Romans fell back, and occupy the Mosel valley as far as Trier and Metz and the highland of the Eifel on the west. From the time when the Roman writers, in about 260 A. D., first mention the Franks, this particular tribal group has clung tenaciously to the Rhine and the Moselland. Most people love the land of their birth, but I think some hold more closely to the homeland than others because the land itself evokes a fealty.

This is a land of song and story. Every hill and every vale, almost, has its place in the setting of a

great drama in which gods, heroes, men, and an innumerable host of creatures of the imagination play their parts. Of all races the German is perhaps the most romantic; this shows itself in the living literature of today. In this there are tolerated the most absurd tales as well as the most abstruse philosophy. From where we stand here at the Deutsches Eck, we can look down the river to the Drachenfels where Siegfried slew the dragon, while, if we turn around and look to the south, we have the rock of the Lorelei where the Rhinemaiden lured the boatmen to their death by her song. Down the Rhine at Rolandseck is the ivy-covered Rolandsbogen—all that remains of Roland's castle where he grieved over the wreck of his romance with Hildegund. And down below on the island of Nonnenwerth is the cloister where she died. A very different story clings to another island above us in the Rhine,—the mouse tower where the wicked bishop was eaten up by mice.

These and many other such tales form a real part of this land. They are absorbed by every German child as they absorb the oxygen in the air they breathe. Many travelers have described the Rhine. It is a subject that has appealed to men like Victor Hugo, Lord Byron, Thackeray, and many others, but if, even with the most skillful pen, one drew only a portrait of the hills and castles, of vineyards and forests, of rocks and river and all that the human eye could see, one would

not be telling half of what the Rhine means to a German.

Directly across the Rhine there looms high over our heads the rock of Ehrenbreitstein, long regarded as, next to Gibraltar, the most impregnable fortress in Europe. Its foundations were probably laid by the Romans, and it has had a long and varied history. The most interesting episode in its history to me is the fact that it was at one time the home of the mother of Ludwig van Beethoven. The great Beethoven himself was born at Bonn, a short hour's drive down the Rhine. Heine, the great German poet, was born at Dusseldorf, and Goethe, the still greater German poet, was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, only a good hour's drive up the valley. About the same distance across the hills to the east and north is the birthplace of Martin Luther, who was a musician and a poet and a great man in many other ways as well as the leader of the great Reformation.

In Mainz we find the home of Gutenberg—the birthplace of the art of printing.

At Frankfort the German emperors were elected, at Aix-la-Chapelle they were crowned, and at Spires many of them were buried. It is within the triangle marked off by these three cities that the valley of the Mosel lies. Charlemagne is buried at Aix-la-Chapelle where he usually held court. Frastrade, his Empress, died at Frankfort and was buried at Mainz.

THE MOSEL

The Mosel is a beautiful stream—flowing along placidly in many winding curves. It is rather broad and shallow and a favorite resort for canoeists. The valley floor is very narrow so that there is frequently barely room for the highway between the water and the steep slope of the hillside. For this reason the villages, of which there are many strung along the highway, are often compressed into a single or double row of houses. There is little tourist travel and no pretentious hotels.

On my first visit to the Mosel, many years ago, I rode down the valley from Luxemburg, through Trier on a bicycle. There were two of us, young fellows from America, making our first tour of Europe. We put up at night at a village inn where ordinarily only the native wayfarers ask for lodging. When we registered we declared ourselves to be Americans from New York. From New York because we had sailed from there and New York would be the one city in America which would be known to everyone and we would not always be obliged to answer the many questions as to where it was located, etc.

But "America" was all we need have said so far as our hostess was concerned for I have never had a warmer welcome anywhere. "So! Die Herren sind aus Amerika?" There was no pretense in her pleasure or the warmth of her welcome. And the explanation

came at once. She had two sons "in Amerika." So we must be friends and entertained as friends. It made not the least difference that the sons were in the Argentine. We must have the best a German host can offer a friend. So from her private stock she set before us a bottle of "echter Johannesberger"—one of the finest of the Rhine wines. The Mosel wines are said to be very good and we certainly would not have known the difference between the best and that which was merely good. But this German mother was offering a libation on the altar of human fellowship.

I have always felt at home among the Germans whenever I could meet them on a common footing. This usually means that one must speak the same language in order that there may be perfect understanding. But even among the Spanish and Italians, whose language I do not speak I have sometimes found that they were human beings like myself.

The hillside vineyards of the Rhine and of the Mosel have often been pictured and described. They must have been familiar to Matthias Gisch because they are probably among the oldest human structures in the land. For they are human structures. The hillsides are too steep in most places to be suited to viticulture without the terracing, and terracing once begun becomes a monumental undertaking.

Hard by the side of the highway there is a stone wall, eight to ten feet high carefully laid up without

mortar and always kept in good repair. A flight of stone steps leads to the top of the wall. These steps are set in flush with the face of the wall and bring one to the first terrace. The terrace itself slopes upward to the base of a second wall which is a repetition of the first and these are repeated in a long series, sometimes to a height of several hundred feet. The height of the walls and the width of the terraces will vary with the general slope of the hillside but the terraces are never more than a few yards wide, giving space for three to six rows of vines.

The vines are supported by stout stakes and when the vines are not in leaf the endless rows of stakes are the most conspicuous feature of the hillsides. Of the soil there is sometimes little to be seen for the surface may be so stony as to completely hide any soil there may be beneath. But, nevertheless, the vine may flourish in what might seem to be a most unpromising situation.

In these later days fighting diseases has come to form an important part of the vinegrower's labor and during the growing season spraying is daily going on. No domestic animals can be taken on the terraces and the only road is the highway at the foot of the hill. Here the carts carrying the barrels of spray fluid must be left while the men, with small tanks strapped to their shoulders, carry the spray up the steps from terrace to terrace to the last one at the top.

The care of the vine and the vintage is a laborious business but the construction of the terraces would seem to involve an incredible expenditure of time and energy if one did not take into consideration the centuries that passed while the process was going on. Moreover, if one passes in review the labor involved in the transformation of the wilderness of Pennsylvania as it was in Lancaster County in 1733 into the same landscape of 1933 we have perhaps as much cause to marvel.

Most of the tourists who have "seen the Rhine" have had only a very inadequate representation of what the Rhine valley stands for. What I have just said of the Mosel valley is a similar inadequate view I got of it on that first bicycle tour. On my last visit I had my family along. There were five of us and we were traveling in our own car. Let me show you the very different picture I saw on this occasion.

We had traversed the whole length of the Rhine from one of its sources in little Tomasee on the very crest of the Alps, along the course of the Vorder Rhein to Lake Constance and from Lake Constance to Coblenz, and the Deutschs Eck from whence we have been viewing the land.

There is always room for one more in that car so you may come along and see what we saw of the "Valley" of the Mosel and the land called Die Eifel.

The Eifel is an ancient volcanic area lying north of

the Mosel and west of the Rhine—in the angle of those two rivers. There are many small extinct volcanic vents, beds of volcanic ash and deposits of pumice. As we cross the Mosel and follow down the Rhine we pass a series of villages all engaged in the manufacture of various building materials from the pumice which is here dug out of deep pits. The pumice is in the form of water worn pebbles and light as cork.

But instead of following the Rhine we take a road which leads diagonally upward, to the west, until we reach an altitude of 1000 feet or more above the level of the Rhine. The road now follows almost straight and almost level across a plain seemingly as flat as a Kansas prairie and covered with continuous fields of wheat—as beautiful wheat as I have ever seen.

DIE EIFEL

The road is a first class highway bordered on either side by a continuous row of trees which cast a welcome shade on the pavement. It is bright high noon of a day in July and the grain is that rich golden color which would mean active preparation for harvest to the American farmer but in this climate the ripening process proceeds slowly and the grain is not cut until it is dead ripe.

We drive along steadily but not too rapidly for it is one of those occasions one wishes to have impressed deeply on his memory. The road is lonely. There is

not a habitation in sight and only once do we pass through a small village at the crossing of the roads. Only one or two human beings have we seen on the road and none in the fields. At first this gave me cause to wonder but the facts are simple enough. Here the farmers still live in villages, as they always have done. This was originally for the purpose of mutual protection but since Germany is now and has been for a long time one of the most law abiding countries in the world so far as murder, robbery and such crimes are concerned this inconvenient custom of living in villages, sometimes at considerable distances from the land one cultivates, can be considered only as evidence of how hard it often is to change from an ancient social custom. The villages lie in the valleys where they are not visible from the highway.

Someone raises the question—When do we eat? The question is answered by coming to a halt by the side of the road in the shade of a tree. While the sandwiches are being disposed of, I get out to stretch my legs and look about but all I see is wheat and wheat and wheat with the road running through the middle of it and coming to a point at both ends. Suddenly I am conscious of a voice, a strange voice, and yet familiar; one I have never heard before but recognize at once. It seems to come from above but I look up and see only the canopy of the trees and the voice comes from beyond. I run out into the field

and again look up just as the song is ended and a tiny body drops out of the sky and with a few closing notes disappears in the wheat. A lark! A skylark! Why have I not heard one before? In a few moments another begins to sing and I watch this one as he rises higher and higher, singing as he goes, until he all but vanishes in the blue when back he falls again into the golden wheat. Another incident to be remembered—to be told to one's grandchildren. I shall probably never hear the European lark again—but the next day, and the next—but wait.

This road—where does it lead to? If you look at the map there seems to be no objective. And yet only a few years ago this road was taxed to its capacity with a dense stream of men all moving in one direction. The best of Germany's manhood all hurrying out this road to—Hell. At present this road leads nowhere but it was built to make it easy for men to get to those fields where brother met brother, where Gish met Gish in the deadliest contest the world has ever known.

A few days later we crossed those fields in Flanders where our cousins from over here lay dead beside our cousins from over there, but there were only the "crosses row on row" and wheat and poppies and the larks.

Not all of the upland Eifel is covered with wheat. There is a hilly region farther on toward Luxemburg

heavily wooded with dark, shadowey, forests of evergreens, and as we approach Trier the land is open, rolling, and devoted to a more varied type of agriculture. To the west of Cologne are immense deposits of brown coal and to the east of Trier lies the Saar valley with its wealth of coal and iron.

THE HUNSRUCK

Beyond the valley of the Mosel, to the south and east there is another elevated region very different from the Eifel in geological and topographic features but also a region of wheatfields and forests. This is the Hunsruck. It is bounded on the southeast by the narrow valley of the Nahe and at its southern extremity lies the principality of Birkenfeld.

NO-MAN'S LAND

In the days of Matthias Gisch there was no German Empire, there was no Germany. There were over 200 German States of various categories. There were independent cities, there were Principalities and Kingdoms, there were Grandduchies and Palatinates and Bishoprics and Archbishoprics. The region between the Rhine and France has been for the last thousand years virtually a no-man's land. When the grandsons of Charlemagne divided his empire between them the middle part fell to Lothair. This extended from the present Holland to Italy. The upper part was

then called Lothairingia. Modern Lorraine is all that is left of Lothairingia. Between the quarrels of the western and eastern kingdoms the middle one soon fell to pieces and has been subject to a process of trituration ever since.

When Prussia rose to dominance in modern Germany she took possession of many parts of Germany merely by right of might and that is why in recent history the valley of the Mosel and much adjacent German territory which had little in common with Prussia came to be merely a possession of Prussia. Previous to that for more than ten centuries practically all of the Mosel valley including the city of Coblenz and even a slice of the right bank of the Rhine including Ehrentreitstein was in temporal matters subject to the Archbishop of Trier. Therefore, other than that it was subject to the Archbishop of Trier this country had no name.

The region known as the Palatinate is in much the same state. It was merely the personal property of one of the Electors. The Electors themselves were a very variable quantity and so was their domain. Whereas the boundaries of the domain of Trier for a long time remained fairly well fixed, those of the Pfalz were forever shifting and after the dissolution of the Electorate Bavaria assumed sovereignty over two Pfalzs, far apart, Upper Pfalz and Rhein Pfalz and there was another part annexed to Hesse.

The result of the matters just outlined so far as they have a special interest to us is that the inhabitants of the domain of Trier were always subject to a Catholic ruler. Furthermore, the Archbishop of Trier, whoever he happened to be, kept a pretty steady pressure on all types of heresy.

The Electors Palatine were sometimes Catholic and then again Protestant. Also, even though the Elector at any particular time might be an adherent of the Catholic faith he was not always zealous in prosecuting the interests of the faith. Consequently, there were many times when persecuted protestants from other parts of Europe found asylum in the domains of the Elector, *i.e.*, in the Palatinate.

THE CHURCH

The conditions in Trier from the point of view of religious beliefs can be pretty well inferred from a series of myths and true stories, as the case may be, which form part of the intellectual background of the people.

In Cologne the stories related of the Archbishops, the priests, the churches and other persons and institutions belonging to the Church often take on a tone of ridicule probably because of the frequent bitter quarrels between the Archbishops and the citizens over the question of the temporal powers to which the Archbishops laid claim. One of these stories tells

how Satan furnished the plans for the great cathedral in return for which he was to have a certain reward and how the architect with the advice and connivance of friends tried to cheat the devil of his pay. The devil had his revenge in the death of the architect whom he flung from the top of the unfinished walls. The great church remained in an unfinished condition for 300 years.

Another story connected with this cathedral has to do with two priests who plotted the death of one of the leaders of the people who was especially obnoxious to the Archbishop. The failure of their plot led to the hanging of the priests themselves by the enraged mob, in one of the rooms of the Cathedral.

The church of St. Ursula commemorates a singular personage and event. Ursula was an English princess betrothed to a German prince. She left England accompanied by 11,000 virgins. Before her marriage she made a pilgrimage to Rome, going up the Rhine to Basel and thus to Italy and Rome. On this excursion she was accompanied by the 11,000 virgins. The pope was so enamored by the virtues of the princess that he resigned his office and accompanied Ursula and her retinue back to Mainz where they were met by the prince. Not a great while after the marriage a horde of barbarians from the north, the Huns, swept down on Cologne. Ursula and the 11,000 virgins were horribly slaughtered as were also the prince and

the expope. Now the bones of all this host are exposed on the walls of the church of St. Ursula and they have miraculous powers. But the stories of the miracles they have performed we will not attempt here to repeat.

In this church may also be seen one of the vessels that held the water that was turned into wine at the "Marriage of Cana."

Among the treasures of the cathedral are also the skulls of the three Magi who came from the east to worship the infant Jesus. These were brought from Milan by Frederick Barbarossa in 1162. Helen, the Mother of Constantine, is said to have brought them from the Holy Land as far as Constantinople. How they got to Milan from there is not recorded.

These and many other similar tales are part of the life of every citizen of Cologne. They may be the subject of reverent thought or of jest as each individual may feel disposed.

TRIER

Trier also has its story of a church built through the magical arts of Satan. In this case, again, as the great work was nearly completed the prince of darkness was cheated of his reward by the wiles of an angel whom he met on the way as he was carrying the door to complete the contract in a stated time. In both these cases as in Goethe's "Faust" the pay for which

Satan bargained in return for his services was a human life, or soul.

In the year 50 A.D.—so runs another story—St. Peter, bishop of Rome sent three missionaries to the Mosel Valley. They were Eucharius, Valerius and Maternus. They had crossed the Alps and were preaching in Alsace when Maternus died. Disheartened, the other two returned to Rome and related their misfortune to St. Peter. St. Peter gave them his shepherd's crook and commanded them to return and by prayer and the application of the staff to the body of Maternus to bring him back to life. They did as they were instructed and forty days after his death Maternus was restored to life.

The three now proceeded on their way to Trier and there preached the Gospel to the heathen people of that city. At first they had no success and the people attempted to stone them. But each time one attempted to pick up a stone his arm was paralyzed. Through the prayer of Eucharius the lameness was healed and this miracle brought about the conversion of many. Then came a rich widow of a senator whose son had died and begged Eucharius to come and restore him to life. Through the use of the staff of St. Peter this young man was also restored to life.

In gratitude the mother of the young man presented her villa to Eucharius who converted it to the use of worship. In the course of time the three mis-

sionaries were buried within the confines of this place and here Constantine erected the church of St. Eucharius.

This church was destroyed several times and again rebuilt and finally was renamed the church of St. Matthias.

The rather unusual occurrence of renaming a church came about in this way: Helena, the mother of Constantine, was a Christian long before the conversion of her son and in her old age she made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land where on Mount Calvary, she discovered the holy sepulchre and near by the three crosses and other relics of the crucifixion. The cross of Christ was not distinguishable from the rest but Bishop Makarius had a dying woman touch the crosses, one after the other. The first and second were without effect—but the touch of the last instantly healed the dying woman.

Among other important holy relics which Helena brought back from her pilgrimage were the bones of St. Matthias. These were enshrined in the church of St. Eucharius and it was for this reason that the name of the church was changed. It stands to-day the church of St. Matthias.

The relic which has created most interest, of all in Christendom I think, is the seamless garment. This is preserved in the Cathedral of Trier and was another of the gifts of St. Helena. Periodically it has been

exposed for the adoration and worship of multitudes of pilgrims.

The first occasion of its public exhibition was in 1512 when 100,000 people came to see it. There were other times when the exhibition of this relic created widespread interest throughout the world. In 1891, it is said, during a period of six weeks, nearly 2,000,000 devout Catholics from all countries came to adore the sacred relic.

There are, and have been, many who are skeptical about the authenticity of this relic and one very disturbing statement is made which is difficult to meet. This is that no less than fifteen churches have, and can show, the seamless garment.

The church of St. Matthias in Trier is of more than ordinary interest in the history of the Middle Ages and of to-day. For us it may also be of interest. As the name of a church, Matthias is not very common, and as a man's given name it is also of relative uncommon occurrence and then in certain localities more frequently than in others. Furthermore if we take into consideration also the fact that in Catholic countries it is quite customary to name children by the names of patron saints we may be on the trail of a connection between this ancient church and the given name of Matthias Gisch.

When we come to examine into the religious faiths and practices of Matthias Gisch and most of those

with whom he elected to cast his lot in the land where he was free to exercise his choice in such matters we may also have a clue to impulses that compelled him to flee from his native land. But if the religious dogmas and practices that were then paramount in the land of Trier were not enough, there were other forces that tended constantly to drive out all those who were not in complete sympathy with the dominant life of the time and place.

WAR

Because of its situation alone, Trier and the Palatinate, with practically all the land from Aix to Heidelberg, was the chief battle field of most of the wars of Europe. In most cases the people were not in any way interested in the quarrel itself except that the contending armies overran their lands, occupied their cities and fought their battles on the ground of a neutral people.

Even after the hideous robber wars when their cities and towns were often taken and plundered for the loot and then completely destroyed, the contending armies often left the country as desolated as if the citizens had been involved in the quarrel. During the lifetime of one man who was an inhabitant of this unfortunate land, according to the record of his diary, he was compelled to flee from his home no less than twenty-nine times.

During the hundred years before 1733 the misfortunes of war for Trier were as follows:

The period of one hundred years before 1733 began in the midst of the Thirty Years war. At the time of the treaty of Westphalia, 1648, the German lands to the west of the Rhine were a scene of utter desolation. It is difficult for us to conceive of the atrocities that were committed. "More than three-quarters of the inhabitants were gone—dead or dispersed, more than four-fifths of their worldly goods destroyed. So complete was the desolation that it took two hundred years to restore it to the same state of agricultural prosperity." The outrages to which an inoffensive people were subjected were too horrible to dwell upon in detail.

With the return of peace the remnant of the people set about restoring order: Rebuilding the villages that had been razed to the ground; planting fruit trees to replace those which had been cut down; breaking up the land, which had grown up in weeds and briars; reestablishing the herds and draught animals from the few that had escaped destruction and revivifying their courage which was almost all that had been left to them.

But wars did not end with the treaty of Westphalia. Before the work of setting the land in order was well under way the armies of Europe were again at their work of destruction. There followed rapidly, one

after the other the wars between France and other countries over matters with which Trier had nothing to do as, *e.g.*, the wars of the Spanish and Polish succession. But the forces of Louis XIV were entirely free from any scruples against violating the neutrality of any land if it happened to serve their purpose. Trier was occupied again and again by the French and sometimes by the forces of the other contestants.

During these periods of occupation large numbers of soldiers were quartered on the people, sometimes for years at a time. There was no pretense of paying for the food and lodging required by their unwelcome guests. Such an idea was unheard of. The people were driven to extremity to find the wherewithal to supply the demands of the invaders. Large sums were demanded from the towns and many villages, which could not meet the demands made upon them, were destroyed.

These wars, repeatedly, left the neutral lands of Germany as desolate as if the native population had voluntarily taken an active part. And there seemed to be no prospect that there would ever be a change for the better. Judging from the course of events during the centuries that had passed as recorded in the pages of history and for the last hundred years as recalled by those who had lived through them war was the normal way of life.

Matthias Gisch left his native land during a time of

peace but before the end of the year there was another war—that of the Polish succession—which like those that preceded it brought ruin to a land whose people had no interest in the quarrel. In making the fateful decision, however, and in turning his back on his land and his people his troubles were not at an end. We have no record of how he weighed the good against the bad but there were others who had occasion to regret that they had ever thought to find relief from their woes on foreign shores.

RELIGION

The Reformation, in those countries in which it prevailed, did not bring with it the privilege for each one to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. It only substituted one form of religion for another. Each state still had its established church. Only instead of the Roman Catholic it might be the Reformed or the Lutheran Church.

The Thirty Years War had destroyed half the population of Germany and, in places, completely annihilated its civilization. The chief object accomplished by that ferocious struggle seemed to be the right of each state, of which there were some hundred in Germany—to elect which one of three churches was to be the State Church. This question, naturally, would be determined by the ruler of the State and there was always the possibility that with a change of

dynasty there might also be a change of Church establishment, or more likely, a change in the official attitude toward nonconformity. So that, although there were three churches recognized as established, or State, churches in the various German speaking countries, a member of any one of them might be under the ban if he did not happen to be living in the right place.

The sectarians were those who belonged to neither of the established churches. They could never be sure of a welcome anywhere. They were often tolerated and sometimes welcomed, in spite of their religious vagaries, because they might still be useful citizens. The question often brought about a conflict between the civil rulers and the ecclesiastic authorities. For this reason there was continual uncertainty how any particular sect stood in the eyes of the civil powers of the State. In many of the German States there were often long periods of peace and relative freedom of worship, and again, in the same State there might ensue a period of intolerable persecution.

Switzerland had long been a refuge for the persecuted of many lands and had, therefore, possibly more than her share of nonconformists and dissenters of many descriptions. In the same way the Palatinate a little later, harbored the expatriate of many parts of Germany, France and other countries, including many who were no longer tolerated in Switzerland. At last the Palatinate too turned "thumbs down." Thus

it came about that so many Pennsylvania Germans came to be regarded as either Swiss or Palatines, whereas those countries had only been for many a temporary abiding place.

The details of the persecution which these people suffered are too harrowing to dwell upon but one cannot realize with what tenacity they clung to their homeland unless one knows something about the forces which compelled them to leave. Nothing like it has occurred in more recent times. Through the story of Evangeline every American child learns about the ruthless expatriations of the French Acadians and in "Hermann und Dorothea," Goethe gives us a glimpse of one day's events during the flight of a group of exiled Salzburgers. In the case of the Acadians there was no question of religion involved but the Salzburger refugees were driven from their homes merely on the ground of religious nonconformity.

THE SALZBURGERS

In 1727 the Archbishop of Salzburg began a campaign to rid his domain of all heretics. This was not the first time this had been attempted. One of his predecessors, forty years before, had compelled one thousand of his subjects to leave the country in the depth of winter. And they had to leave their children behind.

The measures taken in 1727 were more drastic and

thorough and came to a climax in 1732 after all the Protestant countries had protested and threatened in vain. One edict ordered all heretics above the age of twelve, to leave the country within eight days, except such as had salable property. These were given from one to three months to sell what they had.

During the Spring of this year fourteen thousand had left Salzburg and the exodus continued for a year longer. Twenty thousand migrated into the kingdom of Prussia alone, most of them settling in the province of Lithuania, twelve hundred miles from their old home. Many of these refugees settled in other parts of Germany.

It is not necessary to dwell on the details of the horrible cruelty and suffering. Nothing could be worse than the robbing the parents wholesale of their children. The rest may be left to the imagination.

In November of 1733 a group of these Salzburgers reached Rotterdam and by Spring of the next year had arrived in Oglethorpe's colony at Savannah near which they established themselves in a settlement of their own.

These Salzburgers called themselves Lutherans but as Protestants their history goes back to the time of John Huss (d. 1415). Before the Thirty Years' War the Hussite Protestants of Bohemia and Moravia formed in places a majority of the population but at the close of that war they had been completely exter-

minated as a religious body. Some had recanted and joined the established church. Many were exiled. A few remained in the country—hiding in the forests and living in caves. This remnant called itself the Hidden Seed, and thus hidden evaded the emissaries of the Church for nearly a hundred years.

THE MORAVIANS

In 1722 a small number of the "Hidden Seed" came to light in Saxony on the estate of Count Zinzendorf who offered them refuge. In doctrine and church polity this group of Protestants also had kinship with the Lutherans but were more primitive and formally called themselves simply Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren. In Germany they were generally known as Böhmische Brüder and in this country they are the Moravians. By blood kinship they are almost wholly German.

Under the protection of Zinzendorf the Moravians built a village which is known as Herrnhut and which remains to this day the headquarters of the Moravian Church. At Herrnhut they remained only a few years before they were again under suspicion and restraint. The friendship of Zinzendorf was of no avail against the rancor of the Church and the Count himself gave them council and aid on their next move.

First a small group of twenty-seven set out for

America along with eighty Salzburgers who were bound for Oglethorpe's colony in Georgia.

They arrived at Savannah in the beginning of February, 1736, after a voyage that has become memorable for an occurrence of great importance. On board the ship were John Wesley, afterward founder of Methodism, and his brother Charles. The former, on the invitation of General Oglethorpe, was on his way to Georgia with the twofold purpose of preaching the gospel to the Indians, and improving the religious condition of the colony. The German passengers on board had attracted John Wesley's attention by evidences of their strong faith and humble piety. On a Sabbath day, about noon, while the Salzburgers and other Germans were assembled in religious worship, a storm suddenly arose, greater in violence than any other they had experienced even on that tempestuous voyage. Amid the commotion of the elements every heart trembled with fear, and even Mr. Wesley was confessedly alarmed. But it was very different with the Salzburgers and Moravians. While the raging waters threatened to carry the worshipers to an instant doom, they calmly sang praises to their creator, exhibiting perfect self control, and utter absence of fear for themselves. When the storm had spent its fury, Mr. Wesley inquired of one of the Germans, "Were you not afraid?" He replied, "I thank God, No." "But were not your women and children afraid?" He replied mildly

"No, our women and children are not afraid to die." The impression made upon Mr. Wesley by the conduct of these people, so great in faith, was strengthened upon his arrival in Savannah. There he was introduced to the Reverend Mr. Spangenberg, later bishop of the Moravian Church, and to the Moravian pastor, Boehler, from whom, John Wesley subsequently declared, he had derived more light than from any other man with whom he had ever conversed. "I was ignorant of the nature of saving faith, apprehended it to mean no more than a firm assent to all the propositions contained in the Old and New Testaments," remarked John Wesley.

Two years after his first visit to Georgia, having returned to England, he wrote the following note in his journal: "It is now two years and nearly four months since I went to America to teach the Georgia Indians the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned of myself in the meantime? Why (what of all I least expected) that I, who went to convert others, was never myself converted to God."

The Moravians did not remain long in Georgia. In 1740, under the leadership of their pastor, Peter Boehler, they sailed for Philadelphia and from there made their way to Bethlehem. Here Boehler spent most of his remaining days but he made several journeys to England and Germany and thus he and Wesley met again in London. This meeting was of great moment to Wesley who, speaking of Boehler, sets

down these prophetic words: "O what a work hath God begun since his Coming into England." Wesley was so deeply impressed with the practical religion of the Moravians that he made a pilgrimage to Herrnhut and lived there for several weeks among the Brethren. He said he would like to spend the rest of his days among those people.

The stories of the Salzburgers and Moravians are briefly mentioned here only to illustrate the temper of the times. The fortunes of Matthias Gisch were not directly connected with either group although Lititz, one of the principal settlements of Moravians in America, was only a matter of five miles from White-Oak.

THE QUAKERS

In England the Quakers were in much the same predicament as the proscribed sects on the Continent. William Penn was a Quaker and he had traveled in Holland and Germany in the interest of his Society of Friends. He had visited various groups with whose religious views he found himself in close accord. So throughout the Rhineland his plan for establishing a colony in the New World where there should be true religious liberty was well known from the beginning and as soon as his colony was established, and at his invitation, the stream of immigration began.

PENN'S INVITATION (4)

THE text of this communication was first published in America with the invitation to each and all to call attention to anything objectionable it might be found to contain. No objection having been raised it was then "offered to the enterprising inhabitants of Europe."

The pamphlet then begins by inviting certain ones to stay away:

"Such persons as expect to make a fortune suddenly, without much exertion—such as are indolent —or of dissolute habits—such as are not seriously disposed to industry and ECONOMY *had better stay away* —we have plenty here—the market is already overstocked with that kind of people. Those who expect that in this country everyone can do whatever is right, in his own eyes without regard to law or justice—*had better stay away.* This is a "Land of Liberty," but it is also a COUNTRY OF LAWS to which all persons without distinction MUST submit. Those

who have nothing but birth or wealth to recommend them—those who have no useful occupation—those who are of a restless, factious or quarrelsome turn of mind—had better stay WHERE THEY ARE, or, at all events, never attempt to come to AMERICA—this is not the country for them. And lastly, those, who are happily situated at home, maintaining their families comfortably and are able to lay by sufficient for their support in old age, and for the eligible establishment of their children, and those who will be discouraged by those difficulties, which rarely fail to attend a change of country, had better not undertake to come to PENNSYLVANIA.

TO PENNSYLVANIA

THE first to accept Penn's invitation came from the Crefeld group of Mennonites. This was in 1683. Others followed in small numbers until 1710, by which time confidence in the radical venture seemed to be established at home so that the rate of migration was greatly accelerated. It was in 1710 that the Mennonite colony on the Conestoga was established and nine years later the first group of Dunkards arrived and took up lands farther up on the same stream. 1719

THE LONG JOURNEY BEGINS

The reports which reached the homeland from the emigrants who first went to New York, North Carolina and Georgia were not encouraging and these colonies soon came to be avoided. But those who followed William Penn to the shores of the Delaware found there the freedom and opportunity which Penn had promised them and this soon became known

throughout all Germany. So, from about 1710, the numbers who set out for Pennsylvania rapidly increased and continued with little intermission to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

By 1733 the passenger traffic from Rotterdam to Philadelphia had become systematized so that one voyage was pretty much like another making allowance, of course, for weather and difference in human nature—an allowance, it must be confessed, which provided considerable latitude.

Captain John Stedman of the Pennsylvania Merchant seems to have been quite superior to many of the shipmasters of his day. I wish we knew more about him. And since the comfort and health and even the lives of the passengers depended largely on the character of their Captain it is probable that the voyage of the Pennsylvania Merchant was in many aspects more endurable than many. So it is fair to assume that this voyage was at least up to the average of the time and probably it was better.

For the passengers this journey did not begin at Rotterdam. Most of them had been already a long time on the way and I shall take you back to the beginning.

On Stedman's passenger list there were several groups. We know in some detail of two—there may have been more groups as well as unattached individuals.

The Schwenkfelder Diary (5).

"Deo Gratia."

Anno 1733, 19th. April, Sunday "Miser. Dom." We all left Berthelsdorf at noon-day. The day before Melchior Krauss came to us from Hennersdorf so that our company numbered altogether thirteen persons. Balthazar Jäckel [Yeakle] and Friedrich Wagner conducted us to Pirna. This day we journied from Berthelsdorf with much luggage, through Kunnersdorf, Küstelsdorf, Friedrichsdorf and Spremberg to Neusalz, our first night's resting-place. 2 German miles. 9 miles

[So begins the diary which was kept by one of a group of refugees who had set out on the long journey from eastern Saxony to the promised land of Pennsylvania. They had been permitted to live at Bertelsdorf for a few years alongside the Moravians who were also refugees and who had built the nearby village of Herrnhut. The active interest of the Count von Zinzendorf had made it possible for these exiles to rest here for a time but now intolerance in higher places demanded that they move on. This group was part of a small remnant of the followers of Casper von Schwenkfeld a reformer of the time of Luther.

Matthias Gish may have had little more in common with the Schwenkfelders than that they crossed the ocean in the same vessel but that is enough to

make the part of the diary which deals with the voyage of great interest to us. But the day by day account of the earlier stages of the Schwenkfelder journey gives us a vivid picture of certain phases of life as it was lived in those days. If the mere reading about it becomes tedious what would you say about the living it?

The diary is not signed but it is supposed to have been written by one David Krause. That he was both learned and pious is quite apparent. He begins with "Deo Gratia" (By the grace of God) and ends with "Finis cum Deo" (Let the outcome be with God). For each Sunday he gives the lesson as indicated by the church calendar. The dates as given by Krause are as of the reformed calendar which had not yet been adopted by England hence he closes his record on the twenty-ninth while the Captain of the ship has it the eighteenth and both are correct.

It must be understood that the mode of travel for this company was on foot until they reached the Elbe and that the luggage was carried by a cart. A German mile was equal to about four and a half English miles.]

April 20th. We left Neusalz traveling through Schlucken, Waldau, Gross Schönau, Hansdorf and Landburghersdorf, where we saw the fortress Stolpen, on to Hasig: here too we saw a fortress, Hohenstein.

This day we journied 4 Miles.

18 MILES

April 21. We left Kasig passing through Landau, where we saw its fine castle, Königstein; it stands upon a cliff between Pirna and Schandau. We proceeded thence 1 Mile to Pirna, where is the fortress caller Sonnenstein. Here we found our Captain, Christian Meissner with two boats, ready to carry us on to-day or to-morrow. We paid him our fare, over 2 Thalers for each person, and 30 Rex Thals. additional for the baggage of the party, which is much to give. After we had loaded our boats the company separated, Krauss going on one boat and we on the other. Krauss's boat went 1 mile from Pirna this day, and ours the same.

April 22nd. About 10 o'clock we left Pirna and passing Pilnitz and Lawogast reached Dresden at 2 o'clock. We all went into the city but none of us desired to remain; it is not too large but well fortified and the bridge is excellently built. Distance from Pirna—2 miles, from Herrnhut 9 miles.

April 23rd. At 8 o'clock we left Dresden, and in the afternoon came to Meissen; it is a handsome town. Between this place and Pirna we have seen on the right bank nothing but vineyards. We came 1 mile beyond Meissen; from Meissen to Dresden is 3 miles; so we have in all accomplished 4 miles to-day. Here we came upon a sandbank but we did not leave the boats.

April 24th. We started early and came to Strelen,

2 miles; thence to Mühlberg and Telgern, at last to Torgau 3 miles farther, making 5 miles to-day. Torgau is a fine town, with a long bridge, where whoso will enter must pay toll.

April 25th. We passed Trettin and Lichtenburg, here we were staid by reason of the winds, but at last we reached Pretsk, in old time the Queen's residence; the castle is to be admired—3 miles.

April 26th. Sunday. "Jubilate." We came to Wittenberg, 3 miles. In the middle of the morning we lay by a village awaiting the wind. From Dresden to Wittenberg 15 miles.

April 27th. We came about 11 o'clock to Coswig, where is a fine castle, and sailed on for three hours: when 2 miles from Wittenberg we came upon a sandbank where we were obliged to unload.

April 28th. Having rescued the boat from the sandbank, we went on to Reslau and thence to Dessau, 2 miles, from there to Aken, a town in Brandenburg 2 miles.

April 29th. We came about 9 o'clock to Barby, 2 miles: about 2 o'clock to Schönbeck, 2 miles—where salt is made; towards evening we arrived at Magdeburg 2 miles: 6 miles to-day. From Wittenburg to Magdeburg 12 miles. We remained here before the town.

April 30th. This morning we passed happily through Magdeburg bridge. We remained in the

town till evening. Our boatmen and other passengers made themselves drunk there; a few of them fell in the river but were rescued. We have gone through four bridges on the Elbe viz: Dresden, Meissen, Torgau and Magdeburg. To-day we went yet one good mile farther, and then stuck in the sand. Then our boat-people sang and leaped and tacked about.

May 1st. We made 5 good miles to Tangermunde; to-day two of the passengers got lost, consequently one of the boatmen was flogged, but they returned to us here. From Magdeburg to Tangermunde 6 miles.

May 2nd. In the morning we passed by Annaburg; we reached Sandau at noon; here is much sand; thence we went on to where the Havel joins the Elbe. 6 miles.

May 3rd. Sunday. "Cantate." Passed Mittenburg and in the afternoon came to Schneckenburg, a small town which was burned down four years ago, and on to Entzen, there our boat was in the fog in which it often went astray but at last found the right way. This day we went 7 miles.

May 4th. At noon we came to Dömitz, a town in Mecklenberg in which no stranger can be unmolested. He is questioned about every thing. We did not enter it. 3 miles. We went yet a mile further, then we stopped before a village where was a grove. Here

we staid all night. In the evening it rained heavily. —4 Miles.

May 5th. We sailed early in the morning in the face of a heavy storm to Hitzaker 4 miles. We went out into the town and remained till about 4 o'clock in the afternoon; then we proceeded 2 miles and stopped in the middle of the Elbe on a great sandbank.

May 6th. A heavy storm early this morning detained us and other boats on the sandbank for two hours. Then we proceeded on to Bleche one mile and staid there until 5 o'clock, then sailed on to Boitzenburg 2 miles. 4 miles this day. We had frequently to lay to before the wind to-day. The Elbe is difficult to navigate in a high wind, even when it blows in a favorable direction, for then the boat goes too fast; the steersman being necessarily on the look out to keep the course.

May 7th. We sailed to Lauenburg, 1 Mile—and left there about 7 o'clock making in all 6 miles this day; we were still one mile from Hamburg. Here we were delayed upon the sand awaiting the tide.

May 8th. We arrived early at Hamburg. We did not go into the town, but remained in the harbor till ourselves and our baggage all being placed on the same boat we were taken by four of the boatmen to Altona. There we had soon a friendly welcome from Herr Heinrich Van Schmissen who did everything in his power for us. That night we were lodged in his ware-house.

May 9th. In the forenoon some of us went into Hamburg but we had not much time to look about us. On our return to Altona we were all to go to Herr Van Schmissen's house; we staid there till 12 o'clock, then we went with our belongings to the shore, took leave of Herr Van Schmissen and got on our ship bound for Amsterdam. Herr Van Schmissen had made all arrangements for us and we remained that afternoon on board. Herr Heinrich Van Schmissen had given us for ship-stores, 16 loaves, 2 casks Hollands, 2 pots butter, 4 casks beer, 2 roasts, a quantity of wheaten bread and biscuit, 2 cases French Brandy and had in everything cared for us most kindly. From Magdeburg to Hamburg 38 miles, from Herrnhut to Magdeburg 36 miles. From Herrnhut to Hamburg 74 German miles. 181 miles 18 DAYS

May 10th. Sunday. "Rogate." We sailed with contrary winds 7 miles to Gluckstadt in Holstein, and anchored there.

May 11th. Early in the morning we sailed 1 mile and entered a haven in Holstein and staid anchored there the 11th. 12th. and 13th. of May, that is three days. On the evening of the 13th. we saw an eclipse of the Sun.

May 14th. "Ascension Day." We had favorable, but not strong wind. We reached the sea in the afternoon 5 miles from the harbor and sailed on through the night. This was our first night on the sea. We had a tolerably strong wind but no storm.

Wind N.N.E. so favorable to us. On the sea nearly every one became sick, but some more so than others; among the greatest sufferers were my father, the Herren Franzin, Krauss, and Frau Heydriger. At this writing Melchoir Krauss is no more. "Vero ad finem." We sailed the whole night through and on the 15th. about 2 o'clock we saw Ameland which is an island belonging to Holland. We were still fourteen miles from Amsterdam. We have been about twenty-two hours on the ocean—33 German miles. From Hamburg to Amsterdam is 60 German miles. From Hamburg to the sea is 13 miles. From Ameland we went to Friesland and there anchored, and anchored this night near West Friesland, still 10 miles from Amsterdam.

May 16th. We skirted the coast of Friesland and saw upon it many towns and villages. We had very light winds. We saw here many sea-dogs. By 4 o'clock we came to the Zuyder Zee at Enkhuysen, a town of Holland, and sailed by many towns and villages till finally at about 11 o'clock at night, as had been calculated, Captain Leonhardt Jacob, a very worthy man, brought us into Amsterdam. God be thanked therefor!

May 17th. Sunday, "Exaudi." Awoke early and looking out, Joy! We found ourselves among the ships in the harbor of Amsterdam, we gazed with astonishment at the shipping that surrounded us.

Meanwhile our Captain had gone into the town to announce our arrival to Herr Blaie to whom we had been recommended by Herr Van Schmissen.

May 18th. Herr Blaie sent a letter to Melchior Schultz, who had been at his house but had not found him at home, and on the morning of the

May 19th. Herr Blaie himself came to us much to our gratification. He invited us all into the city; two hours before dark, we took a boat and went into the town: we put our baggage on a Treckshuyt and proceeded to Haarlem. There we took up our quarters on the boat and were well received by all.

May 20th. We still remained on the boat; a householder in the town sent us there for dinner, two roasts, 1 pot butter, 1 cheese, 12 bottles wine, and in the afternoon Herr van Putten came to us. That night we lodged in a house that he had rented for us. We had the entire house and occupied it for three weeks and six days, from the 21st. of May to the 16th. June—27 days.

May 28th. In the evening at 7 o'clock our friend Melchoir Krauss died, when going to thank Herr Van Putten. On the 29th. we were joined by six more at Haarlem. On the 2nd June Melchior Krauss was committed to the earth. Many of our Dutch friends were with us at the grave. June 7. In the evening our friend Herr Van Putten invitel us to his tea or pleasure-garden and treated us handsomely to meats, wine and tea.

On the 23rd. May we received letters from Pennsylvania from my brother George and on the 24th. others from Herrnhut dated the 4th. inst.—26th. We wrote letters to Herrnhut. 28th. Melchior Krauss died about 7 o'clock in the evening. 29th. John Klem with the remainder of our company, 6 in number arrived at Haarlem.

June 2nd. Melchior Krauss was buried.

June 14th. Letters from Rotterdam inform us that our ship will soon be ready to sail. 15th. We receive other letters from Herrnhut.

June 16th. In the afternoon, after stowing our goods in a small vessel we all went together to Cornelius Van Putten's pleasure-garden, where we were treated bountifully with wine, tea &c. Afterwards we took leave of Cornelius Van Putten and the rest of our Haarlem friends. Then they all accompanied us to our ship and the same evening at 9 o'clock we left Haarlem sailing all night on the Haarlem sea. In the early morning we passed close by Leyden leaving The Hague on our right and finally reached Delf. Here is the great Arsenal. On the next day the 17th. at 2 o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at Rotterdam. 18th. We came up to the large ship and on the 20th. we once more wrote letters to Herrnhut.

[When Scholtze speaks of friends in Hamburg, Amsterdam and Rotterdam it is not to be supposed that he refers to relatives, personal friends or even

acquaintances. These were the kind of friends any human being in trouble should find among other human beings. When, a few years before, the archbishop of Salzburg took such outrageous measures against some of his unorthodox subjects, the whole of protestant Europe was aroused and extended not only sympathy, but also help. There were organizations formed for this purpose at various points, notably at Frankfort and in Holland and the gentlemen mentioned by Scholtz—Herr van Schmissen in Altona, Herr Blaie in Amsterdam, Herr von Putten in Haarlem, and that other unnamed "householder" who was real enough to supply two roasts and other things as helpful,—were either representatives of such organizations, or, were themselves well enough provided with the goods of this world that they could share in such generous measure with those who were in need.

It was not a mere accident that Herr van Schmissen could pass the refugees along to Herr Blaie. The help agencies were in touch with each other and acted in concerted fashion. There was probably a more complete organization of these help agencies in the Rhine valley, since there were many more to be aided.

Rotterdam is located on one of the branches into which the Rhine divides before it enters the sea. And the Rhine was the principal, practically the only, highway leading from all parts of southern Germany to the western sea. Although many of the travelers

were natives of the Palatinate, it is certain that there were also many who came directly from Hessen, Wurttemberg, Baden, Alsace, Mainz, Trier, and Switzerland, as well as from other parts of Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Salzburg, etc. From north Germany as we have seen, there was another route, but, for the most part, the travelers bound for America were likely to make for the nearest point on the Rhine and then travel by boat down that stream to Rotterdam.]

DOWN THE RHINE

Travel down the Rhine was as tedious and vexatious as it was on the Elbe but for very different reasons. No mention of sandbars is made. The river is deep and the current swift so that the transit from Switzerland to the sea should have taken only a few days whereas it actually occupied weeks.

The principal obstacle here was the cupidity of all the petty potentates who had stations along the river where they could hold up the travelers. But even the payment of an unreasonable toll was not enough. The vessels were detained at each place for hours or days for no other purpose than to compel the passengers to spend more money for supplies.

Mittelberger (6) says there were thirty-six stations between Heilbronn and Holland at which customs officers boarded the vessels and that it took four, five

or six weeks to make the passage, largely because of the unnecessary delays. Imagine what this would mean to one who has been compelled to leave most of whatever property he possessed, behind. At best he sold what he could for whatever price he could get from others who were glad to take advantage of his necessity. If he succeeded in getting together enough to pay for his passage he considered himself fortunate and set out on this enforced journey of expatriation with what little courage he could muster.

But now he begins to see what he had not foreseen—all the ways in which his little supply of money could get away from him. In one respect this was fortunate for his peace of mind—let's say his integrity of mind. The Rhine journey was only a beginning of misfortunes. In Holland there were delays of many weeks and the cost of living was high. But finally, when he found himself on board a ship which was to carry him to a haven of rest he probably felt overjoyed to think that his troubles were nearly over.

For our own peace of mind we may drop the curtain here. What was to come was too terrible to dwell upon but we shall raise it again just for a moment at the end.

Müller (7) tells how the Mennonites, exiled from Switzerland in 1711, traveled down the Rhine:

"It has frequently been described how the exiled Salsburger Protestants, laden with their scanty posses-

sions, crossed the mountains of their native land, and, with tears in their eyes, looked back to the valleys of their home; it has been described how the bands of French emigrants wandered over the frontiers of their native land singing psalms. Our friends from the Emmenthal and the Oberland found no sympathy among their fellow Swiss, as the towers of the Cathedral of Basel and the wooded heights of the Jura faded in the distance. Sitting on boxes and bundles, which were piled high in the middle of the boat, could be seen gray-haired men and women, old and feeble; yonder stood the young gazing in wonder at the shores as they slipped by. At times they were hopeful, at others sad, and their glances would alternate, now to the north, now to the south toward their abandoned home, which had driven them out so unfeelingly, and yet whose green hills and snow capped mountains they cannot forget."

The German immigrants to Pennsylvania in Colonial times have often been called Palatines, or, again, Swiss, for no better reason than that one or the other of these states happened to be their last place of abode, though not necessarily their place of origin or nativity.

All the states of the Rhine valley are largely represented in the German population of Pennsylvania but there are also many from elsewhere such as the Schwenkfelders, the Moravians and the Salzburgers.

At first most of these immigrants came in groups with a recognized leadership and with all arrangements made beforehand even so far as provision for their reception on this side. Sometimes a ship was chartered for a group. Sometimes a large section of land was selected and purchased before they set sail from the homeland.

After the Schwenkfelders, who headed Captain Stendman's list of passengers, came the name of Johannes Naas. He was one of the leaders of a sect known in Germany as Taufer but later, in America, called Dunkards. Their proper designation is The Church of the Brethren.

A settlement of these religionists had been made on the Conestoga in 1719. Alexander Mack, who was the founder of the sect, arrived in Pennsylvania in 1729 and eventually all of his followers came too. At this time Naas was the leader in Germany and he is said to have been a man of considerable ability.

At the time we have now in mind he was traveling up and down the Rhine valley ministering to the scattered members of his people. At one time he assisted a group of refugees from Würtemberg to a temporary refuge at Creyfeld. Possibly it was this same group along with others whom he was now conducting to America.

Although we have no explicit statement that Matthias Gish belonged to this party it is clear that all

his associates later belonged to the Church of the Brethren and in 1742 his name appears on the roll of the White-Oak congregation.

It is practically certain that Matthias Gish reached Rotterdam by one of these boats which was carrying refugees down the Rhine and it is also interesting to speculate on the route he traveled from Asweiler and at what point he reached the Rhine.

At a first glance at the map one might see that the little stream that flows by his home soon enters the Nahe and the Nahe, in a fairly direct course flows into the Rhine at Bingen—"fair Bingen on the Rhine." But the Nahe is a small and turbulent stream and not navigable even for a small boat. The road that parallels the stream would have been a rough road to travel even for one traveling on foot and there would have been about sixty-five miles to go.

Another road led from Birkenfeld along the backbone of the Hunsruck by way of Castellaun to the Rhine at Bacharach. This would also have been a long and rugged road.

If the choice had been left to me I think I should have taken a third road—that which crosses the Hunsruck, diagonally to the north and reaches the Mosel at Berncastel. This would have meant a jaunt of about thirty-five miles and then a delightful ride down the Mosel to Coblenz—an ideal outing for a five

or six day vacation even if one had a heavy rucksack on his back. Such an outing is one of the most popular ones in Germany to-day.

THE VOYAGE (5)

Anno 1733, St. John's Day.

24. June. We set sail from Rotterdam in our vessel, a brigantine called the Pennsylvania Merchant, with Mr. John Stedman for our Captain. In the afternoon we came across a sandbank upon which we were detained several hours. The next day we did not make much progress as the ship was towed by sailors in the boat.

June 28th. We passed Dort and came to Gravendeel a village not far from Dort. There we lay by until the evening of the 3rd. July, when we again set sail. Our ship carried only 155 tons, but there were over 300 persons on board so that we were much crowded and the pilots at Gravendeel complained of this grievance.

July 4th. This evening we came to the place where in 1717, seventy-two towns and villages were submerged; in their place is now nothing to be seen but a watery waste. There we saw before us Kleymer's ship which had been out in the sea and driven back by a violent storm.

July 5th. Sunday. Early this morning we passed by Frederickstadt. In the afternoon we came to

Helvoetsluys, and soon after reached the ocean. In a short time all began to be sea-sick, but the wind was fair and we had a sight of Flanders and the Spanish Netherlands. Towards evening we saw Calais, a fine town on the French coast.

July 6th. We saw the chalk cliffs of Dover in England, and on the 7th., were obliged by contrary winds to tack about.

July 8th. The wind was still so adverse that we could not proceed far.

July 9th. The contrary wind increased in force, so that we went farther backwards than forwards, and the people again became sick. This weather continued till the evening of the 10th. when the wind abated a little.

July 11th. At about 2 o'clock in the morning, a child that had been ill ever since we left Rotterdam, died. Its body was enclosed in a sack with some sand, and after the singing the hymn, "Nun lasset uns den Leib begraben," was sunk by the sailors into the ocean. Such is the manner of burial at sea.

July 12th. Sixth Sunday after Trinity. We were again favored by the wind and finally on the 13th., arrived happily at Plymouth. There we tarried some days. It is not a very large place, but it has a fine citadel fronting the sea. Here our Captain took in fresh water and provisions, and settled the toll. Meanwhile there was a good wind, but we were

obliged to stay, and afterwards to set out with a contrary wind.

July 20th. We sailed out of the harbor by another fortress.

July 21st. In the evening after the Captain came on board, we sailed with the wind N.W. still adverse. On the 22nd. increasingly so, to such a degree that we were obliged to tack about.

July 23rd. We had at first calm weather, but towards evening a contrary wind arose. This evening we saw the last of the coast of England.

July 24th. A strong, brisk wind, still contrary. Still the ship sailed tolerably well.

July 25th. The wind somewhat abated. On the evening of this day, a little child died, and on the 26th., the Eighth Sunday after Trinity, was buried at 8 o'clock in the morning. To-day we had calm weather.

July 27th. Very little wind but rising towards evening.

July 28th. Early in the morning about 3 o'clock, we met a French Man-of-War coming from the West Indies. It sailed around our ship and made many inquiries of our Captain. Its name was "La Elizabeth." They used speaking-trumpets. In the first part of the day we had calms, but towards evening a favorable wind. Then we hoisted twelve or thirteen sails and the ship went rapidly on its course.

July 29th. Early this morning we saw two ships passing by us, but we did not approach each other. To-day Stormy Petrels followed the ship and afterwards we saw many fish swimming past us: they were sturgeons, some of them 3 ft. in length. On this evening we saw two more ships, but at a distance. Wind favorable.

July 30th. In the afternoon we saw two other ships at a distance. Wind tolerably fair.

July 31st. At 5 o'clock in the morning, we met another ship, which the Captain spoke. It hailed from the West Indies and was bound for France. In the evening we saw still another ship in the distance. To-day we had a very brisk wind and in one hour of the evening made 11 English miles. The following night we had a very heavy wind.

August 1st. We continue to have a fair, brisk wind N.W.N. a tack-wind, but still favorable.

August 2nd. Ninth Sunday after Trinity. We still have good wind and fair weather.

August 3rd. Early this morning John Naas fell from the ladder. The wind abated and we had a calm.

August 4th. Our sailors early this morning caught a large fish. In its body, entrails and flesh, it resembled a hog. It was not a true dolphin.

August 4th & 5th. Calm weather, but a strong wind sprang up on the night of the 5th.; on the night

of the 6th. we tacked to the North, and on the 7th. to the South; the wind also abated.

August 8th. In the early morning a child was born, and soon after another, a year and a half old, died. At 10 o'clock it was buried. Weather almost calm.

August 9th. Tenth Sunday after Trinity. Almost calm. 10th. A southerly wind veered to the West and blew a very brisk gale until finally on the night of the 11th., it rose into a storm so that all the sails had to be furled and the rudder firmly bound. High waves covered the sea; it was not indeed a very heavy storm, but it was heavy enough for us: it lasted forty-eight hours until the 13th. & 14th., when it abated a little. The dead-lights were put in and the hatch-way closed. The upper part of the foremast was carried away.

August 14th. The wind was stilled a little. Early in the day another child was born. The wind had carried us far towards the South, so that the Captain distinguished the Azores. 15th. The wind still abating.

August 16th. The Eleventh Sunday after Trinity. Calm. A ship in the distance. In the evening a wind from the South.

August 17th. Contrary winds; in the evening a storm similar to the former; but this one drove us northwards.

August 18th. The storm continued all day; at night it lulled again.

August 19th. Calm & temperate, rainy.

August 20th. A refreshing day after the storm. Wind not high but variable; still it was fair weather, the air fresh and the water smooth.

August 21st. A tack-wind but not too strong from the South-west. We took a westerly course.

August 22nd. Wind somewhat stronger.

August 23rd. In the afternoon a slight storm arose that lasted for an hour. To-day a little child died and was buried the same evening.

August 24th. "St. Bartholomew's" day. A gentle favoring wind.

August 25th. A violent gale.

August 26th. Wind South-west. This afternoon we saw a mast, the ship not more than a couple of feet above the water.

August 27th. Calmer.

August 28th. Wind South-west. On the night of the 27th. the ship swayed as if in a great storm, although it was calm. To-night there was a violent thunder-storm and rain.

August 29th. Calm. In the morning a ship seen in the offing.

August 30th. To-day a child of the ship's-smith died and was buried in the afternoon; it was a good little child. Wind slight but favorable.

August 31st. Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity. Wind S.W., towards evening very violent. At dinner-time one of the women spilled some butter in the fire so that it was all in a flame. Had the main-sail been lying on the other rigging it might easily have caught fire and thus, between fire and water, the whole ship would have gone to destruction.

1st September. Increasing wind. We saw great flocks of birds.

September 2nd. Moderate wind and rain.

September 3rd. A fine brisk wind.

September 4th & 5th. Two very warm days.

September 6th. Fourteenth Sunday after Trinity. The warmest day. Calm. The steersman caught a fish.

September 7th. Light winds. Towards evening the Captain caught with a great iron hook a large fish that is called a shark.

September 8th. Wind strong S.W. Thunder and rain during the night.

September 9th. Wind S.W. We sailed for some time under this wind towards the N.W. when our Captain as well as we became aware of the tide a notable evidence that we were sailing too near the shore. This alarmed the Captain who immediately threw out the lead, and found bottom at the depth of only fifty fathoms. Thereupon he changed the ship's course and sailed towards the South.

September 10th. Gentle winds. 11th. Winds still moderate. The Captain and the boatswain had a boxing-match in which the Captain came off best. 12th. Wind the same as yesterday. Winter's child died to-day.

September 13th. Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity. Wind the same. The boatswain's wife dies this evening, and is buried in the morning of the 14th. She was twenty-five years old. In the evening at 11 o'clock a good wind arose. 15th. Good, strong winds. 16th. Early this morning Heinrick Rÿk's wife died and was buried. In the afternoon we saw a land-bird.

September 17th. Strong N.W. wind. At dinner the cook poured a pail-full of sea-water on the fire to extinguish it instantly. The fumes from this filled the ship, and all the people thought it was on fire. A great stench arose so that the Captain and all on board were much alarmed. In the morning the boatswain saw from the mast a ship sailing directly from us. 18th. Calm. In the forenoon a boxing-match came off between two of the sailors. At noon we met a small ship sailing from N. to S. It came from Rhode-Island by New-York and was going southward to the British West Indies. Our Captain was much concerned for us, for he imagined it to be a pirate-ship, because he had seen so many people upon it. He at once had the boat let down and went over to the

strange vessel. It was four days from land. The Captain brought back with him a bag of apples; he gave to them an English Cheese. He rolled out the apples amongst all the people.

September 19th. S.W. Wind. Winter's wife died to-day and was buried in the evening. A violent storm arose during the night. It wrenched off the bolt from one of the window-shutters and a terrible quantity of water poured into the ship. In the morning the waves were fearful, like rocky cliffs and high mountains. The noise of their roaring was horrible. It was a spectacle awful to witness.

September 20th. The Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity. Towards evening the wind abated somewhat; then the sailors were obliged to mend their sails. 21st. Calm.

September 22nd. Generally calm. We saw again a few land-birds.

September 23rd. A fair wind. The sailors saw a ship sailing before us. We had now great hopes that we should soon come to land.

September 24th. Early in the morning the sailors from the mast see land. There was however some fog but the land was clearly to be distinguished by noon. Towards evening three pilots came out to us. Our Captain took the second one and let the first and last return. Then we entered the stream called the Delaware.

65 days to land

September 25th. In the afternoon a violent storm arose, compelling us to cast anchor, but now we were no longer in peril. Had we been on the ocean we should have had much to endure, but we were off the sea. For this, Thanks be to God!

September 26th. Almost a calm, but at last a wind sprung up so that we made good progress. A child died to-day and was buried. All day people were coming on the vessel, bringing apples and peaches for sale. This rejoiced those who could lay hands on money.

September 27th. We sailed by New Castle and Chester, the Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity. We had again an opportunity to procure apples and peaches.

September 28th. In the afternoon we arrived safe and sound in Philadelphia. Thanks and praise to the Lord for this blessing! At 9 o'clock in the morning, my brother George Scholtze came to us having journied twelve miles in a boat to meet our company. He brought us apples, and peaches, and wheaten bread and staid with us on the ship till we reached Philadelphia.

September 29th. according to our calendar. We were obliged to go to the Court-House and take our oath of allegiance to the King. Accordingly we all left the ship. This day was in Germany Michaelmas.

Thus it befell us in our journey to Pennsylvania,

which we accomplished in twenty-three weeks and one day. From Berthelsdorf & Herrnhut, through Pirna, Dresden, Wittenburg, Magdeburg, Hamburg, Altona, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Rotterdam, Plymouth, to Philadelphia.

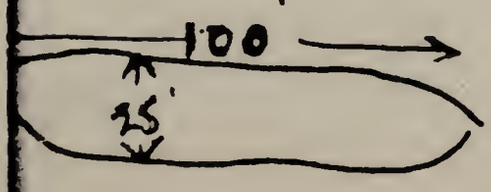
IN PHILADELPHIA

The account of the day by day happenings as given by Naas tallies with that of Scholtze in all but the merest details. Scholtze makes no comments about anything and one might suppose that the voyage was on the whole a very pleasant summer outing. Naas also has little more to say except on two or three occasions when he drops his reserve and gives us a picture which is anything but pleasant.

Scholtze speaks of the Pennsylvania Merchant as a large ship. This, however, was only by way of comparison with the small vessels by which they had sailed over the inland waters on their way to Rotterdam.

A brigantine of 155 tons is not a large ship. Being a brigantine she would have two masts, with a fore and aft rigged mainsail. For her tonnage she would measure about one hundred feet in length by twenty to twenty-five feet beam.

She had an upper and a lower deck so that during a storm the passengers were shut in below with the hatches closed and sometimes even the port holes were



5000 sq ft on two decks = 4 times our living room + Bottskellers at Fulton

boarded up so that all sat in darkness. This is expressly stated by Naas (8). When the storm lasted for several days as it sometimes did, the situation was certainly not pleasant. But even so it could be, and on two occasions it was, worse. That was when the force of the waves smashed in the port holes and drenched the bedding. After such an occasion there was corresponding relief when the storm was over, the hatches opened and the people for the moment permitted to forget their woes in the activities of drying their belongings and setting things to rights.

Scholtze states that there were over three hundred persons on board and that the Dutch pilots considered such crowding a grievence. The number mentioned may have included both crew and passengers. It may be that some of the passengers left the vessel at Plymouth, either to transship to another vessel or to remain in England.

But even so, the fact remains the vessel was crowded and other writers make the charge that overcrowding was the usual case.

There were no cabins and no privacy since the crew in going about their work went into all parts of the vessel. Apparently some of the beds, if not all, were merely a mattress, or pallet, spread anywhere on the deck. This we are led to infer from the explanation which Naas makes of the occurrence of August third when he fell from the ladder.

By his account what happened was as follows: An hour before day he arose to look at the compass. Everyone else was still asleep. Someone had his bed under the ladder and while Naas was ascending to the upper deck the sleeper below moved so as to overturn the ladder. Naas was severely injured and it was some time before he fully recovered.

The question suggests itself why should Naas take the trouble to get up at night to look at the compass? He offers no explanation but I suspect it was not merely restlessness or idle curiosity. Later on it became widely known that the captains of these vessels resorted to many devices to rob the passengers of what little they might have and even at last sold them into bondage when they did not have enough left at the end of the costly journey to pay the passage money. At another place Naas expressly states that the passengers thought they should arrive at their destination in six weeks. Under such circumstances it would have been important for Naas to be able to say that he had knowledge of the fact that the ship was not driven about aimlessly on the waters in order to kill time but that she steadily kept on her way.

Captain John Stedman was probably much superior to the average of the captains engaged in this traffic. He was well spoken of by his passengers. Therefore, whatever was amiss on the Pennsylvania Merchant was the fault of the times rather than that

of the captain. Also we may be sure that conditions on other vessels were likely to be worse rather than better and of this there is evidence aplenty.

In other times it might be a pleasant diversion to encounter another vessel at sea especially if one had been out of sight of land for many monotonous weeks, but there were several reasons why in these days the sight of an unknown ship was cause for suspicion or even fear and terror. During much of the eighteenth century England was at war with some one or other of the European nations and enemy vessels of any kind were regarded as fair prey. It was not only the enemy warships that were to be feared. The privateer was more to be shunned because they might sail under any disguise; even as a fishing boat.

Then there were the Turkish slave hunters and ordinary pirates. These might be encountered at any time, in peace as well as war. Even the British men-of-war were to be avoided because of their custom of boarding trading vessels in search of ablebodied seamen.

The most usual and justifiable cause for complaint and one which was doubtless responsible for most of the sickness and the direct cause of the loss of thousands of lives was the character of the water and food supplied to the passengers. Before the end of such a long voyage the water supply for drinking and cooking inevitably became foul even with the best of care

and we can be sure that very often the care devoted to this matter was not of the best.

With regard to the food much the same can be said. The ship furnished certain rations but it was understood that the passengers would supplement this from private stores. We can quote the menu supplied to the large group of Schwenkfelders who crossed in 1734 with Captain John Stedman on the ship St. Andrew.

It is given as follows: "Sundays; beef. Mondays; rice and syrup. Tuesdays; pork and peas. As a rule we had good meat but it was salted too much. Wednesdays; meal. Thursdays; beef and barley. We preferred the meal (oatmeal) to the meat. On the other days we had dried codfish, syrup, coffee and peas."

We will now return to the comments of John Naas. On September sixteenth he writes as follows: "Since, now, the trip had lasted longer than the people had expected (they expected it to last six weeks) they had gone on eating and drinking hard from morning until late at night. Then at last they found it a great hardship to live on the ships fare alone; thus the greater number so entirely lost courage that they never expected to get on land again."

Then in closing his account he writes of the disgraceful proceedings of the passengers during the voyage: cursing, swearing, blasphemy, fighting, overeating, drinking, and quarreling.

"Therefore they made such a good picture of hell, although to us they were all very kind, friendly and helpful and they held us all in great fear." The captain, he says, threatened to have them whipped. "The hardships, however, of this journey consist of many kinds and things; but for myself I have not to say of many. On the contrary of but few hardships on this trip; but others have seen and experienced a great deal, especially, firstly when people start on this trip who are not obliged to enter upon so great a journey. Secondly; when people start this enterprise without any reason, and sufficient deliberation and for the sake of material purposes.

"Thirdly; when people break up to move, and especially married people when they are not agreeing with one another to begin such a long journey." . . . "I can say with full truth that on six or seven ocean vessels I have heard of few people who did not repent their journey, although, according to the declaration of the greatest number only extreme necessity had driven them to it."

Among the immigrants there was a goodly number of educated people who were forced to leave by governmental oppression.

"Nevertheless they so much regretted having started on this journey that some became sick of it and were so furious that often they did not know what they were doing. Neighbors accused one an-

other. Husband, wife, children fought bitterly. Instead of helping one another they only added to the burden of each and made it every hour more unendurable.

"Seeing that such people are obliged to be pent up together for thirteen, fourteen, fifteen weeks, what an amount of trouble must follow with such natures. Then one can never do what one wants on a ship. Then there are some who will consume all the food they have taken with them while the ships fare is still good; this they will throw in the water. But later on when the ships fare has long been lying in salt, the water grows foul smelling so that rice, barley, pease and such can no longer be boiled soft in it, then the people have devoured and drunk everything they had and then necessity compels them to begin with the poorer stuff and they will find that very hard; and because the people live so closely together some will then begin to steal whatever they can get, especially things to eat and drink."

Naas then briefly refers to the inevitable and unavoidable lice. Others also complained bitterly about this.

Lastly, John Naas closes this letter to his son with these words: "Now that we have arrived safely and are with our friends all the rest is forgotten. This hardship has lasted about nineteen weeks; then it was over, wherefore be all the glory to the Highest; Amen, yea; Amen.

"For it does not rue us to have come here and I wish with all my heart that you and your children could be with us." . . .

God be with you all. Amen.

Johannes Naas

N.B. Greetings from all "to those who fear the Lord at Creyfelt."

Creyfelt was a temporary refuge for the Dunkards as it had been for the Mennonites but this does not mean that the local authorities were at all kindly disposed toward the heresies of their guests. When some of the citizens left their church to join the sectarians they were thrown into prison and kept there for four years.

The rigors of the transatlantic voyage were felt particularly by the younger children. It is said that few children under seven years of age survived. In respect to the mortality percentage of the whole passenger list the 1733 voyage of the Pennsylvania Merchant compared very favorably with that of other vessels. Of the 3000 who set out from Plymouth for New York in 1710, 773 died, either during the voyage or immediately afterward.

Christopher Sauer, whose data may be considered reliable, reported 2000 deaths in one year on vessels arriving at Philadelphia. Many specific instances are cited in which the number of deaths rose to one third or a half and even more of the whole number on

board. This high mortality rate was due to the conditions generally prevailing on these vessels. Special cases of epidemics of small pox or other contagious diseases are on record, of course, but it is not of such that we have here under consideration.

A letter written by an immigrant who arrived at Philadelphia from Rotterdam in 1728 (9) gives some further details of such a voyage. The ship was to sail on the ninth of June but the drunken pilot ran the vessel aground within an hour and a half. This necessitated repairs which held the ship at anchor for a week. A second trial to get under way resulted in failure because of contrary winds. On the third attempt they went aground again.

On the nineteenth they succeeded in getting under way but anchored again at night. On the twentieth they were aground again. On the twenty-second they reached the English Channel and were finally on their way. On the twenty-fourth they passed Dover and reached Plymouth, England, on the thirtieth.

On the eighth of July they finally sailed out of the harbor of Plymouth—just thirty days after the first start from Rotterdam. From then on the daily events, as far as the voyage is concerned, were much like those recorded for the Pennsylvania Merchant and land was sighted on the third of September. But with land in sight the voyage was still not at an end.

Because of a storm and other misfortunes it was not until September fourteenth that the writer could leave the ship to set foot on land at Philadelphia.

Some matters related by this writer throw light on the conditions of a trans-Atlantic voyage of those days. "Concerning the other inconveniences of this journey, they consisted chiefly from the fact that the ship was packed too full, as a result there was but little room. In the cabin which was of medium size there were lodged eight persons, with much baggage and we had to content ourselves with close quarters.

"The ship's food consisted of horrible salted corned meat and pork, peas, barley, groats, and cod-fish. The drink was a stinking water, in which all food was cooked. My company did not take as much separistic food as I desired or advised them to, because they could not imagine nor could they believe that the voyage would be so long, or that the ship's food would prove so unpalatable. The good Lord however provided for us, as He by the hands of a reputable and dear friend Mister F— in R—, unexpectedly, after we had already started upon our journey, sent us a goodly quantity of provisions, consisting of smoked hams and beef, he also bestowed upon us some wine which became us well, and without these supplies we would undoubtedly have suffered greatly." . . . "My greatest annoyance during the whole voyage were the lice, from which none aboard were free, not even the

captain and, I observed that the oftener one put on a clean shirt, the more one was plagued with this pest. Praise God. Even this misery is overcome?"

This writer was especially grateful to the friend in Rotterdam who had sent him some bottles of pure water. Without this he thinks he should have been ill.

On this voyage also there was an encounter with a mysterious ship which they supposed to be a pirate. They got off, however, with nothing more than a fright.

ROBBERY AND REDEMPTION

Most of the immigrants were poor. Not because they came from a pauper class but because of the economic conditions under which they had been living. Many who had property were not allowed to sell it and yet were compelled to leave the country. Others who carried money and valuables with them were robbed. This came to be systematized as a form of racket. The ship captains sometimes refused to take on the baggage of their passengers. It was left behind and the owner never saw it again. Sometimes the baggage was loaded on other vessels and then in some way failed to reach its destination. In still other cases the baggage was simply broken open and rifled.

So on arrival at Philadelphia those who had been

well-to-do were often as poor as the poorest and like the poorest they were then sold into bondage to pay for their passage.

This "Redemption" system was recognized as a convenient way to provide for the cost of the ocean passage and many undertook the voyage with this in view. Many others were drawn into the clutches of the slave traffic through no fault of their own and found themselves bound out as servants for a period of years. It cost from five to seven years servitude to pay for a full passage. If one could pay part in cash his term of service was correspondingly reduced.

Theoretically the system was quite justifiable, in practice it became only less inhuman than the negro slave traffic, since the period of service was limited.

John Naas describes the Redemption system briefly but gives no specific instance and we cannot say who, if any, of the passengers of the Pennsylvania Merchant were affected.

NAMES AND ROMANCES (10)

Less than a year after Penn landed in his new colony the leader of the German Quakers and Mennonites also arrived. This was Francis Daniel Pastorius. Two months later the ship Concord reached Philadelphia with thirteen families from Kriegsheim and Crefeld. These established themselves in the forest a few miles west of Penn's colony and thus began the settlement of Germantown.

Before many years had passed away the steadily increasing stream of German immigrants began to cause uneasiness in the minds of some lest so many foreigners might be a threat to the future welfare of the colony. With something of this in mind the Governor through his Council issued an order that all male foreigners over the age of sixteen must take an oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain and Fidelity to the Proprietary of the Province. And they were also required to make a declaration of fidelity and abjuration with reference to any edicts of the Pope or claims of any pretenders to the throne of England.

Those who had scruples against taking an oath were permitted to repeat the declaration and then set down their signatures.

So it happens that after 1727 the Captain of each vessel on landing at Philadelphia, proceeded to the court house with his list of passengers followed by all the male passengers over sixteen years of age. The captains list was filed in the minutes of the Council and the two sets of oaths, or declarations, signed by each adult male immigrant were also filed and preserved.

Sometimes the captain's list contained three sets of names: First, all males over sixteen; Second, the females over sixteen; Third, all the children.

In the case of Captain John Stedman's lists, as also in many others, the names occur in a definite order by

families so that it is possible to single out all the members of any particular family. The names of the Schwenkfelders come first then comes the name of John Naas. Presumably the names immediately following his are those of his party of Dunkards though I know of no direct statement to quote as evidence to that effect. Far down the list, however, occur names which we know were some years later among the members of the White-Oak and Swatara Dunkard congregations. From Philadelphia, Naas went to New Jersey where he served his people until his death.

The name of Matthias Gish occurs for the first time on the lists referred to above. He signed his name in a precise, practiced and highly individual hand. One might read from it much of the character of the man. His spelling of the name is, clearly and distinctly, Mattes Gisch. No other person with the same family name occurs on the list of the Pennsylvania Merchant nor on any other list of passengers of Colonial times. From the beginning the G was frequently replaced by K and it was not until about seventy-five years later that the use of the K was wholly dropped. The c was generally used at first and persisted in some branches of the family for more than a hundred years. For the last seventy years the name is uniformly Gish. At the present time the initial G is used in Birkenfeld while K is used in Luxembourg.

From evidence more or less direct we must conclude that Mattes came to this country, a young, unmarried man but that he was married within a year or two thereafter. The name of the lady was Katherine-Katrina to him. Where he found her and what was her family name the records have not told but with a little evidence and some imagination one may guess at both.

There were four Katherines on board the Pennsylvania Merchant: Cathrina Borkhard, Catharina Endt, Cathrina Maus and Cathrina Bourin. There was also one listed among the children. Of the four only the last seems likely for reasons which would appeal only to one who was familiar with the Gish "freundschaft." (This words means literally the circle of friends but it has a more restricted meaning among these Pennsylvania Germans, something more nearly akin to the word clan, *i.e.* a group of families which hold together more closely than mere acquaintances or even ordinary friends, especially in regard to intermarriage.) The Bauers (Boyers) belong to the Gish circle, the others do not.

The Bauer family, as recorded in Stedman's list of 1733, consisted of Andreas Boier who signs his name Andreas Bauer and probably pronounced it Boyer; his wife Maria Bourin (the *in* is a feminine ending); a daughter above sixteen, Cathrina Bourin; and two younger girls, Margaret Bourin and Anna Bourin.

Is it too much to suggest that with all that welter of misery of the voyage there may not also have been some romance? If not we may go farther and indicate other romances which had their origin on this voyage and which seem to be linked with the fortunes of the Gishes.

In the captain's list there follows immediately after the name of Andreas Boier the name of Hans Jerick (George) Houk and ten names below that comes Christian Hook. Christian's wife was Barbara Hougen and there was a son under sixteen—Jerick Houk.

In this same circle of families there was a certain Caritas Vishering (Fisher) whose name stands next to Cathrine Bourin. (Her husband was not on board.) Caritas had three children Sophia Vishering, Christian Vishering and Elizabeth Vishering. (Evidently the Captain's clerk failed to unravel the mystery of a feminine ending so he had Christian's name like that of his sisters.)

Jerick Houk in the course of time, woos and wins Sophia Vishering and they have a daughter Sophia who, again in the course of time, becomes the bride of Christian, the eldest son of Mattes and Katrina Gisch. All this romance may be romance and nothing more but it fits the facts to which we shall come later on.

A NEW HOME IN A NEW WORLD (6)

THE Mennonites and Dunkards were like the Quakers in many respects, among others, they believed that they could live peaceably with the Indians, and, in general, they succeeded in doing so. In a certain particular, however, there was a marked difference between the British and German groups. The Quakers held close to Philadelphia and other points along the river and seacoast, while the Germans at once began pushing westward through the unbroken forest, establishing one settlement after another and taking up any land which was suitable for cultivation.

In this way they moved up the valley of the Schuylkill river establishing the centers named Skippack and Oley; the latter not far from the present site of Reading. Following a westerly branch of the Schuylkill this trail led across the divide into the valley of the Swatara and thus to the Susquehanna. It was on this watershed between the Swatara and Schuylkill

valleys that the pioneers from Scoharie in 1723 formed the settlement they called Tulpehocken.

A more direct trail from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna led directly westward, first through a Welsh settlement, then across the hills into the valley of the Conestoga. This old Indian trail in time became the Lancaster turnpike and, 200 years later, U. S. Route No. 30, or the Lincoln Highway.

Matthias Gisch "qualified" on September 18, 1733. That was when he affixed his signature to the Declaration of Allegiance and to the Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration. These are the first tangible evidences we have of the man. The next is not until six years later when he made application for the survey of a tract of the domain of the Penns which he proposed to purchase. What had he been doing in the meantime? We can speculate with some degree of plausibility on the basis of some well known facts.

It was quite customary for the newcomer to select an unoccupied tract of land which appealed to him, and take possession of it by the "squatter" method. This did not mean that the settler attempted to evade legal formalities but that he found no necessity for haste in permanently tying himself to the location first selected and there was probably much delay on the part of the agents of the Proprietaries in responding to requests for surveys etc. I found a record in which it is stated that the applicant for a certain tract

had already been living on it for nine years. The well known case of Conrad Weiser is probably unusual and extreme but in this instance the legal formalities were not concluded until after twenty years of residence on the land.

It is therefore quite probable that Matthias Gisch had located the spot where he proposed to make his home several years before the formal application was filed.

Returning to the question of the movements of Matthias Gisch during the first years after his arrival in Philadelphia. He probably went to Germantown first of all if only for the first night on land. But matters did not progress so rapidly in those days and it is quite likely that some time was spent in getting his bearings, making inquiries and possibly looking up friends. On board the Pennsylvania Merchant he was associated with Dunkards and a few years later is recorded as a member of the White Oak Church of the Brethren. Hence he may have had the Conestoga settlement in view when he left Germany and need have lost little time in making his way westward along the Lancaster road.

We know also that he and his family had frequent communication and ties of various kinds with the settlement to the north beyond South Mountain. The road from Lancaster to Lebanon, passing White Oak only two miles to the west, made easy communication

with Tulpehocken and a number of other early settlements in that vicinity. So it is also quite possible that Matthias Gisch made his way up the Schuylkill by easy stages from one settlement of Dunkards to another and thus came down into the White Oak district from the north.

This White Oak district was part of Warwick township at the time Lancaster county was organized in 1729 but later three other townships were cut off from Warwick. These were, from east to west, Clay, Elizabeth, and Penn; all jutting against South mountain. White Oak lay at the western border of Penn township.

From the land records in the State House at Harrisburg we learn that the first warrant for a survey was issued to Matthias Gisch in 1739. This called for 107 acres plus six percent for roads and highways. The deed (or patent), signed by James Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor, was issued in 1743.

In 1743 he received another warrant for a small tract of 23 acres lying along the brook to the west of the first tract. The deed for this was issued in 1750. It is a parchment document well preserved and quite legible. It is to-day in the custody of a descendant of Matthias Gisch.

A third warrant was issued in 1751. This was for 40 acres lying to the south of the other tracts and extended to the highway on the crest of the ridge.

The deed for this tract was not issued at the time of Matthias' death but his equity in it was disposed of by the administrator along with the other parcels as a single tract. The total area, including the six percent for roads and highways, was about 180 acres.

WHITE OAK

White Oak was the name of an early settlement of Germans near the present north boundary of Lancaster County. It lies between the headwaters of the Conestoga and Chiques Creeks and to the south of South Mountain. A low ridge running parallel to the mountain marks off a small valley, the floor of which is nearly level and more than a mile wide. This valley is drained to the westward by a branch of the Chiques and to the eastward by a branch of the Conestoga.

The first settlers probably formed a fringe of the Conestoga settlement of the Brethren. But at an early date a number of Lutherans and Reformed applied to the Penns for a grant of land on which to build a church. This grant was made to the two churches jointly and for many years the two congregations occupied the same building which was known as the White Oak Church.

The fact that the two congregations lived agreeably together in the same house for more than one hundred and fifty years speaks eloquently for the high charac-

ter of its membership as does also the beautifully kept graveyard which was also used jointly by the two congregations. This graveyard is to-day kept in a model condition with its neat and simple grave stones, from the oldest ones to those of the present day.

The Church of the Brethren in those days built no houses for worship. They met in their homes and, during the summer, in their well built barns. Consequently when Katharine Gisch was recorded as being a member of White Oak church it was not an indication that she belonged to either the Lutheran or Reformed congregations. It meant that she belonged to the "Church of the Brethren" of the White Oak community.

When a village grew up in the vicinity of the church it became known as White Oak at first but later the name was changed, first to Liberty and later to Penryn, its present name.

When many years later a railroad line was constructed about two miles to the west and a station located at the west end of the White Oak ridge the station was called White Oak as it is to-day.

THE NEWPORT ROAD

White Oak church and village were built by the side of a road which for many years was an important highway. It was known as the Newport road because its eastern terminus was at Newport on the

Delaware River, near Wilmington. Eastward from White Oak it followed the ridge for several miles, then descending to a lower level it passed to the north of the village of Lititz then angling south-eastward it crosses the Lancaster-Philadelphia road at Gap. Its course cannot be readily followed to-day except in a general way.

Westward from White Oak the Newport Road ended at Mount Hope Furnace which lay on the flank of South Mountain to the north-west of White Oak. A few hundred yards west of White Oak church the road left the crest of the ridge, dipping down into the valley at an easy slope along the side of the ridge. Then it ran diagonally across the valley to the north-west.

The importance of this road is considerable in reference to the fortunes of the Gisch family. I might say that it was a lucky coincidence that Matthias Gisch came to the end of his journey at this particular point but I prefer to think he showed great common sense in locating here. Then as now, anyone with industry and a little judgment could make a comfortable living on a farm. He need not starve. But to "get along" it is generally well to have other resources, and in an agricultural community there was no resource as dependable as some trade or handicraft. Matthias Gisch was both farmer and blacksmith; as farmer he made a living, as blacksmith, earned money.

There is such a thing as a strategic location of a smithy. His neighbors would have found his shop wherever it might have been located but for the Conestoga wagons freighting ore, fuel and iron along the Newport road the blacksmith shops along the highway were as necessary as the filling stations are today.

At the point where the road turned down from the crest of the ridge, another road branches off to follow the ridge to its westward extremity. It was here, in the forks of the road that the smithy stood, there where there is now only a bronze tablet to mark this incident in the process of taming a continent.

THE HOMESTEAD

Half way down the slope of the ridge there are several good springs and here Matthias located his homestead. He probably pursued the policy generally adopted by first settlers, which is, to first put up some sort of temporary shelter to serve while a substantial home was being constructed. This shelter was necessarily small and crude, with a slight excavation in the side of the hill and low walls of logs cut on the spot. For this few tools were necessary, little more than an axe, a pick and a shovel. Such a place of residence could be constructed by one man, with possibly a helper, in a few days.

The house itself was built more leisurely, probably

with many interruptions for time had to be taken out to put in crops and for the work in the shop. It was almost invariably a log house, built entirely of material yielded by the clearing of the land for cultivation. Many of these log houses are still standing, sometimes covered by a sheathing of weather boarding added many years later. But as the family grew there was need for a larger house and the later additions were often of stone, frame or brick and generally larger than the old log part. So the old part came to be an ell of the new or a detached outhouse of some kind.

THE RURAL SMITHY

Like many other of the practical arts of our forefathers that of the rural black-smith has been crushed by the steam-roller of mechanized industry. The miller, the weaver, the fuller, the tanner, the wheelwright have all disappeared. Even the mills which used to be built so solidly have, many of them, disappeared—razed to the ground, or if their dilapidated walls are still standing, they serve principally as storehouses or as pathetic reminders of a civilization which is dead and gone and now are only romantic ruins to be photographed or painted.

In the end the black-smith was only a shoer of horses—even so, an honorable profession, for was not Goethe's father a farrier?—and a mender of broken tools and sharpener of plow shares and mattocks.

But in the days of Matthias Gisch not much could be done without the aid of the blacksmith. The frontiersman lived in an age of iron. Almost everything called for the use of iron and it was the nearest blacksmith who wrought it.

If a house or barn was to be built, the blacksmith had his part. He made the nails, the hinges, the latches, bolts and locks. Down to my boyhood days hand made nails were still in use. At that time most nails were "cut" by machinery but for certain purposes, as when a nail had to be "clinched" as in making batten doors and gates, only the wrought-by-hand nail could be used.

Almost every article of iron used on the farm or in the household was fabricated by hand. Cast iron articles like pots, kettles and skillets of course came from the foundry. Cutlery, axes, picks and mattocks and even guns and rifles were made by the blacksmith.

The making of rifles, of course, became a highly specialized branch of the trade but during the early wars even during the Revolution these vitally important accessories to life on the frontier and in time of war, were made in many small one-man shops. A long list of rifle-makers of Lancaster County has been compiled. Adam Hamaker, a blacksmith of Lancaster County migrated to Winchester, Virginia, in 1756 and there he rendered distinguished service in the war of the Revolution by the rifles he made. Tradition

says he was rewarded for these services by a grant of land in Kentucky at the present site of Louisville.

At the time we have here in mind coal had not yet got into use. The "coals" listed among Matthias' personal effects meant charcoal which was perhaps "burnt" on the place, or could be obtained by barter from the next door neighbor.

Another phase of the blacksmith's art may be illustrated by another observation of my boyhood days. Adjoining the Gisch homestead in Donegal lay the Hamaker farm with the Hamaker mill. From this farm grand-father Hamaker sold an acre of land on the Bainbridge road, to a wheelwright named Ober. A few hundred yards up the hill from Ober's shop was Hoffman's blacksmith shop. As a lad of six I spent much time in Hoffman's shop and played with the Ober boys. So I was present at every step in the making of a "Conestoga" wagon.

Ober, from his well seasoned stock of woods of various kinds—a special kind of wood for each part of the wagon—fashioned each and every piece that was to be made of wood. When the hub, the spokes and the felloes were all properly fitted together the heavy wheel was rolled up the road to Hoffman's shop.

Now the work of the blacksmith began. The iron thimble lining the hub was firmly driven into place, the hub was bound by four iron rings, the felloes were

tied together with iron cleats and the great iron ring, the tire, was finally shrunken on while hot.

But every other part of the "gears" was bound in iron too, the Bolsters, the hounds, the reach and tongue and the whiffle-tree and, not to be forgotten, the great king-bolt and the lynchpins.

The great boat-shaped bed of the wagon was as carefully made in every detail as a fine piece of furniture and, though lightly constructed so far as the woodwork was concerned, it was strongly tied together with many bolts and straps of iron.

When the Germans settled in the trackless wilderness they created for themselves a new problem which had to be solved—the problem of transportation. Roads could be cleared through the forest with little more than an axe but such roads were rough to begin with and grew worse with traffic. Ultimately this situation led to the first macadamized road of any considerable length in America—the Philadelphia-Lancaster pike.

But before there were even tolerable roads traffic towards the west from Philadelphia became heavy and vehicles of unusually sturdy build and capable of carrying heavy freight over rocks and stumps and through mire and streams were called for. The Conestoga wagon was developed to meet these demands.

THE CONESTOGA WAGON

The name is supposed to have been applied to the wagon because it was developed among the German settlers on the Conestoga creek. It seems to be a reasonable supposition. In general form this wagon is very like a type of wagon which is common in Germany to-day. The most important difference seems to me to be in the greater capacity and superior strength of the Conestoga wagon. In construction not a detail was overlooked which would make them dependable under the most trying conditions. With a load of several tons and four or six powerful horses to pull it, these wagons were supposed to be capable of going through from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, if necessary, without a breakdown, whatever the condition of the road.

It is said that at one time there were 8000 of these wagons plying over the road leading through Lancaster to the west. The Newport road never attained the importance of the one leading to Philadelphia. But the traffic was similar in kind.

For the trying work of these long and rough hauls a special breed of horses was also developed in the Conestoga settlements.

Freighting became an important industry and driving the teams and handling the freight required skill. Teaming became a trade or profession.

Any farmer with a little capital could outfit a wagon and team, employ a trustworthy teamster and send him out with a load of freight perhaps for a distant point from which he could not be expected to return for weeks. Like a tramp steamer which carries a cargo to some distant port there to take on a new load for any other port and thus return at some future time to its home port, so the time of return of the Conestoga freighter could not be foretold.

The blacksmiths located along the highways had much work to do for the teamsters, shoeing the horses or mending the wagons. However, it was often part of the teamster's work to shoe his horses, since one might cast a shoe anywhere along the way.

Our records include at least one of the grandsons of Matthias Gisch among the conductors of a Conestoga freighter.

The Conestoga wagon was a part of every farmer's equipment. The farm wagon was provided with a set of "hay-ladders" which could be substituted for the regular box-like "bed." The hay-ladders were designed to carry large loads of hay or grain.

We must not forget another kind of freight which the wagoners carried and distributed along the way, especially at the inns where they spent the night or at the blacksmith shops where they halted for repairs. I mean the tales they had to tell of what they saw and heard whether in the cities of the east or of the forests

and mountains of the west. If for no other reason, daring young men took up for a time the rough life of a wagoner just to see something of the world. We are told of some of the young men of the Gisch clan who in this way brought back reports from the beyond. One from the port on the east took up a seafaring life but more alluring was the call of the west. It was chiefly the young and footloose men who ventured away from home but their glowing reports of the opportunities elsewhere often induced their friends to pull up stakes and "westward ho!"

In this way from the times of Matthias the Gisch families have been uprooted from their old homesteads and sent off to the four points of the compass. The old homestead in Donegal was the Gisch homestead from 1785 to 1912. One of the sons went to Alaska to teach school and from Alberta he sent home such a tempting account of a new land of promise there that in the end the old farm was sold and the family transported to the Canadian North-West.

The old shop at White Oak has long since disappeared but a native of Penryn told me that he remembers it there with a back-ground of the old forest still standing. This man was himself a blacksmith. His shop was at the other end of the village but a few years ago he also laid down his hammer for the last time and the only shop in White Oak was closed. In later years the smithy was often silent merely for

lack of work. This smith himself impressed me deeply as one of the finest gentlemen I had ever met. It was not only that he seemed perfect in physique but in dignity of bearing and in the highmindedness of his conversation he commanded respect as few men of greater opportunity and wider fame have done. With the closing of his shop and the passing of the man I felt that there had also come to an end an era in the development of our country.

This man was not a Gisch. He was a member of the Lutheran Church across the street and the guardian of that model graveyard to which reference has already been made.

THE FARM

When David Krause wrote about the journey of the Schwenkfelders he spoke of "friends" in Hamburg, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. By this he was not referring to relatives, or acquaintances or even co-religionists. Probably for the most part they were total strangers, most likely there was a previous exchange of letters but we know that they were human beings who were able and ready to give help to other human beings who needed and deserved help.

Such friends stood out conspicuously all through the periods of persecution and at this time there developed a sort of organization to help the refugees in their flight to the new world.

When Penn visited Germany he made the acquaintance of certain influential persons among the nobility and wealthy in various parts of the Rhine valley, who were sympathetic toward his scheme of establishing a state in the new world, where true religious liberty was to be found. A few years later there grew out of this an organized group or committee which was known as the Frankfort Company with its seat in the city of that name. There were also other similar groups in Germany; but especially in Holland the most effective help was rendered.

Through the efforts of those who might gain thereby, especially the shipping interests, Germany was flooded with much misinformation about conditions in Pennsylvania and the means of getting there, so that even those who were perfectly able, financially, to take care of themselves were almost sure to come to grief sooner or later because of lack of reliable information. The Frankfort Company made it its business to make careful inquiry and give out advice to those who contemplated removing to America.

Among other things, they advised the immigrant on what would be needful on the voyage and what would be needed in the new world. On the latter point they stressed the advisability of carrying along seeds and the implements of trade or handicraft.

In their old home these people had been almost self sustaining, if not as individuals, at least in small

groups. As representatives of all the essential industries from farming to book-making, were included in the migration, the early German settlers were competent to push out into the wilderness and establish there a self sustaining civilization.

The Gisch homestead was at first hardly a farm. There were seventy acres of forest and it is likely that during the life of Matthias the smithy received his chief attention but year after year the area of farmland grew as acre after acre of the forest was cleared. Every variety of seed brought from the homeland was tried and most of it grew. All the essential conditions of the old home, such as soil and climate were so nearly repeated in Lancaster County that little change in methods was required. Thus the German was able to set up in the wilderness a new little Germany and the ultra-conservative habits of these people, grounded as it was in the basal tenets of their religion, has preserved this little Germany to the present day.

Among the first seeds to be sown were those of the vine and the fruit trees. It is possible that some of the trees planted by the first settlers are standing today. I know, and have measured apple trees still living which measured nearly twelve feet in circumference. These are on an old ancestral farm in the valley of the Swatara.

The inventory of the estate of Matthias Gisch, filed

on November 23, 1757, gives us a clue to a number of interesting conclusions as to the state of his affairs, and especially about the farm and its equipment. In addition to the usual tools and implements found on every farm we find, judging from their valuation, that there were two or three horses, five or six cows, about half a dozen sheep, four or five hives of bees, a fanning mill (for cleaning grain), bells (for the sheep), sheep shears, wool cards and a weaver's loom, and there was on hand linen valued at four pounds, eleven shillings, six pence.

The conclusion is evident. The farm was producing practically all that was necessary for the family in the way of food and clothing. That is to say it is evident to anyone who knows these people and their history. Already in Germany they were credited with being the best farmers in a land of superior farmers and they brought their skill and industry with them and to this day they have maintained their high standard. One of the most important things in rating the methods they used as a matter of custom, was the great variety of products which they forced from the soil. It would be a mistake to think that because of their isolation and habitual reliance on only those things which they could produce or exchange with each other, that they were restricted to a narrow range of diet or of conveniences of living.

THE BARN

The great barns are the most conspicuous feature of the Pennsylvania German landscapes. They are often called Swiss barns because they are supposed to have originated in Switzerland and then introduced here by the Swiss element in the German population. This assumption may be correct but I have some doubts. It would not be strange if the Rhinelander gradually came to adopt Swiss methods but to do so immediately on his arrival here would be out of keeping with his extremely conservative temperament. But Matthias Gisch proceeds, almost at once to build a typical bank barn—otherwise known as a Swiss barn. This we know because the barn still stands and the date of its building—1743 is rudely cut in the stone lintel over one of the stable doorways.

This must be one of the oldest barns still standing in Pennsylvania. There are older houses and there may be older barns but I have not heard of any. At any rate Matthias began the building of a typical bank barn within four years of the time when he took the first steps toward securing a formal title to his land.

In the construction of this barn Matthias used logs which had already been used in some other temporary structure, either house or stable. This earlier building probably dated back to the time when Matthias first occupied the land.

As is usually the case the first story of this barn is

of stone and might be considered the foundation. It is entirely occupied by the stables. These all open under the projecting portion of the main floor on the side away from the ramp or "bank." Since this barn is built on a hillside the second floor is on a level with the ground in the rear so that there is really no ramp or "bank" necessary.

Since the main floor of a bank barn is designed to carry heavy loads the beams supporting that floor are of the sturdiest construction. In all the older barns that meant hewn logs. These beams project beyond the foundation or wall of the stable, about seven feet and the entire front of the main structure rests on these projecting beams. The beams are not less than ten inches square in cross section and from eighteen to twenty-six feet in length. The only way to secure such timbers and the sills which supported them was to hew them with the adz. The main sill in this barn is a wonder of skill in the art of hewing a log.

The superstructure of the older part of the barn at White Oak is peculiar so far as my observation of barn structure is concerned. The walls are of logs laid up somewhat in the fashion of an ordinary log house but the chinks between the logs are very wide, as wide apparently as the proper keying of the logs would permit. This may mean that the superstructure of the barn dates from the time of the laying of the foundation.

I infer from these various hints that by 1739 Matthias Gisch had passed through the first stage in the progress of the first settler and was ready to build his homestead larger and better.

SPRINGS

To build one's home by a spring might be merely a matter of convenience or economy. To dig a well is often a very laborious and costly process. The spring may be a menace to health but so is an open well. But the poor in spirit as well as the poor in coin-of-the-realm are apt to live by such sources of their water supply. A very instructive means of classifying folks might be by the attention they give their springs. Of the Pennsylvania "Dutch" I have seen many who built their homes by a spring but never have I seen one built on the hillside above the spring so that filth from the house yard could wash down into the spring and so that the water had to be carried up a slippery and difficult path to the house. Nor have I ever seen an open well of any kind in Lancaster County. The romantic well sweep and the romantic but filthy Old Oaken Bucket are alike unknown.

The Pennsylvania German never has been any too well posted in scientific hygiene but they brought with them from the old country a predisposition toward cleanliness that has unquestionably had a survival value.

Now let's classify the Gisch household by this test —the water test—not only in regard to health and cleanliness but in any other direction it may bear.

There are several springs within a few yards of the homestead. The house is built directly over one of them. And the water flows through the small cellar where there is a long shallow tank of water flowing continuously. This is not a unique arrangement. There are many such in this county. Sometimes there is a spring house close by in the back yard. The water from these sources is not usually used for drinking. It was the primitive refrigerator and remarkably effective too.

There is another spring somewhere on the Gisch place. No one seems to know where it is but its water gushes out of a large galvanized iron pipe in the kitchen and into a cement tank constantly full of cold water. The present owner had occasion to look for a leak in the supply pipe and in excavating along the iron pipe, he came to a wooden one—a log with a hole bored through its length. As there was no need of digging up the wooden pipe the location of the spring has not been found.

Certainly Matthias Gisch had nothing to do with the cement tank or the iron pipe. Who laid the wooden pipe no one knows. It may have been Matthias, it may have been his son-in-law, Peter Kratzer. Does it make any difference? Another one of the springs supplies the beasts of the farm yard.

KATHARINE

Matthias and Katharine were married soon after they landed at Philadelphia. This conclusion is indicated solely by the known facts that they were not married before and that their oldest child must have been born within a year or two after the landing.

Of further records concerning Katharine we have only a few: In 1742 Matthias and Katharine joined the White Oak Congregation of the Brethren; in 1770 Katharine and her daughter Anna were members of the White Oak congregation of the Brethren; in 1761 Katharine is named in the records of the administration of Matthias' estate and in 1770 her son Jacob in his will leaves all his property to his "beloved mother Katharine." In 1762 she signed her name to a deed transferring her dower interest to the farm to Peter Kratzer, her son-in-law.

These brief records help us little for they tell us little more than one might almost take for granted. *Of course* a mother of her time and class belonged to church—from first to last, of course those mothers were beloved of their children, of course those mothers were provided for in the settlement of estates and wills. But, just the same, we are glad to have these brief references to one of whom we should like to know more.

There are many other things which we may say we know as a matter of course about Katharine. And

they are important. The thing of most significance in the lives of Katharine and Matthias lay through their children in the future generations, and in this regard the life and labor of Katharine was surely not a secondary matter.

A mere catalogue of the tasks performed by the pioneer mother in the daily round of chores and special duties which came along as regularly as the seasons—sounds formidable and if one dwells at all on the details seems utterly impossible. But nothing we know is more certain than just these things.

We might begin with the art of cooking and call the roll of a long list of many dishes but the virtues of the German housewife in this direction are well known, indeed so well known as to sometimes bring upon her the charge of being merely a kitchen drudge by some of her sniffy sisters. The superabundance of food on the table is proverbial and often is used as a means of ridicule.

However, one important difference must be considered between the art of cooking of the pioneers of the early settlers and that of to-day. Many of the dishes then most commonly prepared were the same as in the fatherland and are still in vogue. But a radical change in the art of cooking came about with the introduction of stoves.

The pioneer housewife had only a large fireplace and the great oven at her command. She would be

amazed at the array of pans and kettles large and small, that the modern cook finds necessary. But even if the oven was only heated once a week it might serve to cook bread, pies of various kinds and a great variety of cakes, all of which were ready to serve at any day in the week. But baking in small covered pots could also be done in the ashes of the fireplace. In the kettle which hung from the crane a great variety of stews and pot roasts were prepared. These served as a main hot dish. These and many other dishes that are still familiar among the Pennsylvania Germans were originally concocted in the open fireplace.

The opening of the great fireplace was between four and five feet high and about as wide. So there was room for a number of kettles; some standing on the floor by the side of the fire to keep hot while others might be buried in the hot ashes or hung over the flame.

Next to cooking comes cleaning—cleaning of all sorts—an unpleasant subject but it had to be done. I like to pull weeds in the garden, possibly there are housewives who enjoy cleaning. At any rate it has to be done. Monday was wash day and Tuesday for ironing, and Saturday for cleaning house, scrubbing floors etc.

Mending is the chore for Wednesday—almost obsolete to-day. The pioneer family not only made its

clothes but also did much or all of the making of the cloth. Among the household effects at Matthias' death there were listed:

"To linen at	£4	11	6.
"To a weaverloom	4	10	0.
"To bells, wool cards, sheep shears	1	3	6.
"To large wool cards		7	0."

Here we see that Matthias produced wool and prepared it for spinning. No spinning wheel is mentioned but I presume that was considered the peculiar property of Katharine and therefore not subject to appraisement with the personal effects of Matthias. Anyhow, after the thread was spun there was the loom to put it into cloth. Perhaps he raised flax; perhaps he got the stock of linen by weaving cloth from thread produced by his neighbors. Probably there were few households which were equipped for the entire process of making cloth from the raw wool or flax. But every family had some share in the process and there was generally an exchange of labor. In all of this the housewife had a share. The menfolk took a hand of evenings and especially during the winter months when work was slack on the farm.

Katharine certainly made all the clothes for herself and children and also probably much for the men of the family. Then there was always knitting for the idle moments; socks and mittens. She had no time for fancy needle work or crocheting but she prided

herself in the neatness of her work. Odds and ends of worn out clothes had to be cut up into patches and made into quilts and this gave opportunity to apply her skill in the production of a work of art. Rags not otherwise useful were made into rugs and rag carpets.

There were no musical instruments in the house but Katharine loved flowers and in the winter time the house was cluttered up with the pet flowers which would not survive out of doors. In summer she spent much time in the garden with the flowers too but especially in the vegetable garden, and she might have told some of her gardening offspring of to-day some things he did not know. For they had a great variety of garden truck much of which is rarely seen to-day. Among these were many pot herbs used for seasoning, medicinal herbs for making homemade remedies. There was a series of herbs used for making teas. Imported tea and coffee were seldom used and the garden furnished for them satisfactory substitutes. Chicory and other substitutes took the place of coffee which if not so satisfactory to the taste, certainly were less harmful to the nervous system.

The art of preserving food by canning had not been discovered in colonial times but there were many other ways of keeping food so that the Germans always had a large variety of food stuffs throughout the year. Turnips, carrots, parsnips, beets, pump-

kins, and other vegetables could be kept all through the winter in root cellars or in pits. Cabbage could also be kept in this same way but saurkraut was better and more certain to keep. The stupid "Anglo-Saxon" to this day never tires of ringing the changes on the saurkraut joke at the supposed expense of the "dumb Dutch." There being no such thing as tomatoes in those days, saurkraut might be considered the most wholesome vegetable then available.

The oven was always an important adjunct to the household economy of these old homes. They are often called Dutch ovens for no good reason that I can think of. They might be called a European institution since they were in use almost everywhere from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and still are in places. Nor were they confined to the German settlements in America. In my boyhood in Donegal they were still in regular service but I remember the time when the baker's bread wagon began to come around with the inevitable result of putting the old ovens out of business. But few of the later generations of Americans have ever seen such ovens and even less likely are they to see one in use. However, in Lancaster, exactly such ovens are in use to-day for baking pretzels.

In remote farm communities, it may be, that the farm wife still bakes the weekly supply of bread and pies in the big oven. This used to be the regular Fri-

day chore. To-day many of these ovens may still be found, on the older farmsteads especially. But they are retained chiefly because no one has taken the trouble to clear them away. Sometimes they were built behind the great fireplace in the kitchen with the oven door opening in the upper part of the fireplace or at the side of it. In some cases both oven and fireplace are often covered up with perhaps only the mantle piece still showing.

Sometimes the oven occupied a lean-to shed or a small detached building all its own. On the White Oak farm the oven is still standing and occupies a small shed by the side of the kitchen. In drier climates the oven may be out of doors with no roof over it. In Lancaster County that would hardly do but wherever it was, it was necessary to have plenty of elbow room to operate the long wooden spade-like instrument which was used for sliding the loaves and pies into the depths of the oven and for bringing them out when done. Since the oven might be five or six feet deep this spade had to be about eight feet long.

There were also many ways of keeping vegetables by drying and pickling.

The berry patch and the orchard were invariably a part of the homestead plantation. Fruits which could not be kept fresh could be dried and when the season was over and frosts came on, the rafters in the

attic were adorned with rows of bags of dried fruits and vegetables. Or one of those chests mentioned in the inventory of Matthias was filled with the bags.

For preserving of meats there were also many processes which made possible a large variety—all the year round. Every snack house and wayside lunch counter in America pays homage to Frankfort, Hamburg and Vienna but if you would know the extent to which we are indebted inquire at a good German delicatessen store for the names and place of origin of the many forms in which preserved meats are offered for sale and you may learn how it came about that many of these methods are still employed among the Germans of Pennsylvania.

And then there were also the chickens, eggs and milk which fell to the management of Katharine. To look after the poultry may seem fairly enough to fall to the mistress. As to milking the cows it is not quite so clear though still quite common. But Katharine had a series of tasks connected with the milk that is not common in America excepting among the Germans.

On the market in Lancaster and in other towns in the German area, the farmers offer many kinds of cheese for sale and these cheeses are being made in every country household. The housewife who does not know the value of cheese in domestic economy has missed a lot. For the pioneer, of course, the op-

portunity offered to vary the fare by the uses of cheeses meant more than it would to the housekeeper of to-day who has at her door almost all the products of the world. But even so the value of cheese in the diet should not be overlooked.

Have we covered the field on which Katharine could draw for the adequate nourishment of her growing family? We would miss a very important series of items if we left out the produce of the forest. Of course there was an abundance of game, but there also was a variety of nuts and berries and even tea.

It was more than a lark for the children to hunt and gather the nuts. There was practically nothing corresponding to candies but nuts took the place and were more wholesome. Black walnuts, shellbark, hickory nuts and chestnuts were all very abundant. Of berries the most important were the blackberries, raspberries and huckleberries which were abundant and all made a very substantial addition to the stock in the pantry.

Mountain tea or wintergreen (Gaultheria) made a very acceptable drink and the children carried the dried leaves about in their pockets and chewed them in lieu of teaberry gum. "Peach leather" and "sweet root" were also pioneer forerunners of chewing gum. Somewhat less attractive perhaps were the gums that exude from certain trees, like the peach, and slippery elm bark. But they also served to exer-

cise the jaws of youngsters who had to be occupied somehow.

THE FAMILY

And so we come to the main theme of Katharine's occupation—the children. She had eight who grew to maturity and seven of them established families of which each one grew into a clan. Two of the children are on record; one in the letters of administration granted by the court in 1762, the other in the will of Jacob who was the fourth son. This will was written in 1770.

The two lists give the names in the same order which is presumably the order of age.

Christian's List		Jacob's List
Christian	eldest son	Christian
Anna		Anna — wife of Peter Krazer
John		John
Katharine		Catrina — wife of Jacob Baylor
Abraham		Abraham
Jacob		David
David		Sister Merey
Anna Maria		

In 1762 only three of the children had reached the age of twenty-one so at the time of his father's death Christian was barely twenty-one. Moreover at this time Christian was living in Lebanon where he was

working as a blacksmith. Katharine was left with a farm and blacksmith shop to manage with one son, John, only seventeen or eighteen years old to help.

At this point another person enters the story. Peter Kratzer about this time married Katharine's oldest daughter Anna. He was a blacksmith and a capable manager and may have been in the employ of Matthias for some time. He probably also made his home with the family. In any case he and Anna took over the farm and shop formally in 1762.

John, the daughter Katharine and Abraham were also married very soon and left the old home. Mother Katharine, we know, was still living at White Oak in 1770. She received a third of the estate of her husband and probably moved into a smaller home with the two youngest children David and Anna Maria.

There is a small dwelling farther west across the Mount Hope road, which stands on part of the original homestead property. Here the widow of one of the later owners of the main farm took refuge and it may be that here Katharine spent her last days. With Anna nearby and John and Abraham not far away she probably ended her days in all the comfort she desired. With long visits about among her children as they prospered and multiplied she must have found great satisfaction in the results of her earlier strenuous labors.

Where she rests we do not know but it would surely be by the side of Matthias there on the hillside beyond the brook.

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION

An old friend and teacher of mine Will Franklin published a booklet entitled "Bill's School and Mine." The school he refers to was the one in which he got most of his early training—the School of Out-of-Doors. That also was the school of the Gish children and of most of the children of the pioneers. And it was a very good school. The boy scout movement is a recognition of the wholesome training offered by the free life in the wild. Though it was not organized nor provided with a hierachy of scout masters it was none the less beneficial and provided the best kind of training along with the most wholesome kind of recreation. The parents of those days regarded the proper training of their children as their chief function in life. The first generation of the frontier seldom got much formal schooling but the Pennsylvania Germans, contrary to an oft repeated statement that they were opposed to schools, must be classed among the leaders in general and free education. It is true that many of the sectarians looked askance at much of the higher education and from the viewpoint of their primitive religion they were entirely right. They believed in the policy which is also

fundamental in the practice of the Catholic Church, which is that the church will lose its children if it allows their education to fall entirely into secular hands.

Their educational policy comprised little beyond the three R's so far as school work was concerned. But that was not all that they taught. Matthias Gisch trained all of his sons who were old enough in the art of the blacksmith. And for that purpose they were able to keep their accounts.

The main thing, however, was to be able to read the Bible and this they all learned, somehow, to do. The Bibles were in the language of Martin Luther—the modern High German—and this was the language they learned to read and write. The church services, preaching and hymns were in high German so that the language was perfectly familiar to any child. However the daily conversation of the most of the German population of Colonial days, was in a dialect which was somewhat of a composite of the various dialects of the Rhine county from Holland to Switzerland.

Most of the immigrants of the sectarian type signed their names in German script when they landed in Philadelphia and I have now in my possession many letters, accounts, receipts and other documents written, some as late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, which were in High German and in German

script. These letters were for the most part written by ordinary persons, *i.e.*, not by teachers or preachers or anyone with more than the usual degree of education.

Inevitable contact with English speaking people, and the final establishment of a state school system compelled everyone to learn English and as a result these people were in a degree trilingual. But another result was that with the meager schooling and the continual use of *two* languages the common speech become a horrible jargon—without doubt the worst to be found in any part of the United States when one compares the population also in regard to general intelligence and culture.

From the estate of Grandfather Gish each one of his grandchildren was given a New Testament printed in both English and German in parallel columns. From this I learned to read German without any other help, when I was about twelve years old and I suppose it would not be difficult for anyone who had learned the language to also learn to read it without the aid of anything like a parallel text.

Much care was given to the subject of handwriting and many of those old documents are beautiful specimens of penmanship.

Anna Maria affixed her signature to the deed by which she and her husband relinquished their interest in the farm on which David was living. This signature might be offered to demonstrate that most of us

to-day, with all our means of education, cannot write as well as some of our ancestors. This deed with Anna Maria's signature may be seen to-day on the farm to which it refers.

INVENTORY

An insight into the life of the times and of the status of Matthias Gish may be had by a detailed examination of the "Inventory of the Estate of Matthias Gish," which was filed in November 1757. This inventory was compiled and signed by Rudy Beam and Fallandis Greiner, two of his neighbors. It should be remembered that money had considerably greater purchasing power in those days than now. However, the values assigned must remain to us somewhat vague.

"To his wearing apparal ..... £7.14.0."

As this was probably mostly homespun and homemade it must represent at second hand prices a fairly adequate wardrobe.

"To books ..... £4.12.0."

Probably the chief item here was the family bible, but even so, with Sauer's Bible selling at eighteen shillings there must have been a respectable library, if the gentleman who took the inventory scaled down prices of second hand goods, as they would to-day. Perhaps we should also take into consideration here the fact that Rudy Beam could not write his name.

"To a rifle and one gun ..... 2.2.6."

These were necessary daily accessories to frontier life. They did not indicate, as they might to-day the tastes of a sportsman.

"To smith's tools	£20. 0.0.
"To a vice etc.	12.6.
"To a planing bench	6.6.
"To a hatchet and saw	1.15.0.
"To a hand screw	1.10.0.
"To augurs, saws, sickles, scythes and chisels	1. 8.0.
"To coals	3.12.0."

These were the implements of his trade and very definitely establish what that was.

But as a farmer witness the following.

"To bags	£ 1.11.6
"To bee hives	2. 1.0
"To an axe and grubbing hoe	2. 4.0
"To an iron harrow	2.17.0
"To a saddle	1. 0.0
"To a wagon	5.15.0
"To cow chains	1. 6.6
"To sheep	3.10.0
"To horses	38. 0.0
"To horned cattle	31. 0.0
"To a cutter box	10.0
"To a wind mill	1.15.0
"To horse gears	1.18.0"

The Pennsylvania farmer will at once recognize all

the above items. To some of our cousins not everything may be so clear. The "bags" referred to were an important article in the farm equipment. They were always used for transporting grain, milled feed, potatoes, etc. and were also used for storing seeds, dried fruit, etc. The cutter box was used for chopping the roughage for the mixed feed of the horses and cattle and for dicing turnips, pumpkins, etc.

The windmill was used for blowing the chaff out of the threshed grain. There being no threshing machines the grain was beaten out of the straw as it was spread on the barn floor and flailed with a wooden club. The beating shattered the dry heads, the chaff and grain collected beneath the straw which was then lifted away by forks. By passing the residue on the floor through the "windmill" the chaff was winnowed from the grain.

The horse gears are the harness.

The inventory also covers household goods but these I shall refer to at another place.

The last three items of the inventory are:

"To book debts [credits?] £330.13.8
"To notes 48.16.2
"To cash ..... 127. 7.2"

The first of these items doubtless refers to the shop charge account. The second indicates that he had been lending money and the third seems a surprisingly large sum of ready cash for the man, the times and the circumstances.

The total of the inventory was:

"Personal property ..... £671.11.6"

At the present rate of exchange this sum would represent over $3300.00. In purchasing value 1961 equals not less than $60,000.00

THE FARM

We need not seek far for the origin of the name White Oak. The wood of this tree was used for many purposes and was then most valued of all the forest trees. On the farm of Matthias Gish and elsewhere in the vicinity the white oaks were so common that they were the most frequently used of objects for marking land surveys. In describing the boundaries of the twenty-three acre tract, for example, the starting point was a white oak and the description reads: *Beginning at a marked white oak tree,* etc. Also at two other points a white oak tree was marked.

The process of transforming a dense forest into a farm is a tedious one and we cannot suppose that a busy blacksmith proceeded rapidly with the clearing of the land, but more important than money was food and much of this each family had to wrest from the soil. As soon as a spot of land was cleared it was planted with garden vegetables and fruit trees. Before the prospective emigrant started on his journey he was fully advised to carry seeds and the implements of his trade with him. This advice came both

from the agents of the Penns and from the associations in Frankfort and elsewhere which were looking after the interests of the refugees.

We recall that the passengers of the Pennsylvania Merchant received American fruit twice before they landed, first at sea from New York and again in the Delaware River from the settlements along the shores. Here there were fruit trees already bearing fruit.

When the Mennonites in a body moved sixty miles off into the unbroken forest they were not designing to live on acorns. They were prepared to wrest their living from the soil within a very short time. And this is one of the outstanding characteristics of the German settler—their extreme self dependence. They clung together in groups or settlements and were mutually helpful but each family approached a limit of independence.

However, year by year the trees were felled and the cultivated ground was extended. I recall that fifty years ago almost every farm had a wood lot—a small area of the original forest that had never been cleared away. This was a necessary part of the general farm economy. The wood lot was the source of fire wood; coal was then not generally used on the farm. The wood lot also furnished fence posts and rails and perhaps occasionally logs were sawed into lumber for necessary farm buildings.

Since those days the wood lots have mostly disap-

peared especially when there was good ground. To-day a patch of woods almost certainly marks a soil unfit for farming.

So on the farm at White Oak every inch of ground has been cleared of the forest trees except a barren hillside. The gradual increase in the value of land made it unprofitable to leave good land lie unproductive.

The removal of the forest has probably had an effect on the climate of this region. It certainly has affected the flow of streams. The many mills which at one time sawed the lumber and ground the grain for the nearby farms are gone almost without exception. This was the result partly of economic change which put the mills out of business but even if there were grist to grind, in most streams there would not be enough water to turn the mill. To look at some of these streams to-day one is amazed that they ever could have afforded the power to saw up the forests into lumber.

To the youth of to-day the farm may seem only a rather poor means for a submerged portion of our population to make a living. For men like Matthias Gish the farm gave everything—almost. Almost everything that appeared on the table came off the farm—and the table was bountifully supplied with a great variety of food. Almost every stitch of clothing and his shoes was raised and manufactured on the

farm. And there was even entertainment and sport to be had on the farm as we shall see.

Of course it was only the part of wisdom and convenience that there was more or less mutual helpfulness. If one raised and spun the wool and linen his neighbor might be glad to weave the cloth for a share of the thread or yarn. On this basis they had been living in mutual dependence for centuries and it was a deeply ingrained habit which was not easily broken. Their clannishness was not due to a dislike or distrust of others but on this mutual dependance. This was true in regard to matters economic, social, linguistic and, above all else, religious. Consequently we are interested also in the friends and neighbors of the Gish family.

NEIGHBORS, FRIENDS AND THE CHURCH

When Matthias Gish located his first tract, the land to the west and south was unoccupied but on the east his land adjoined that of Ulrich Zug (later Zook) and Jacob Klein. Klein was one of the original trustees of the Reformed and Lutheran church property which property also touched that of Gish on the south-east.

Other near neighbors were, Leonard Gross, Michael Graff, Daniel Hooker, Michael Betley, Isaac Coffman, Andrew Hook, Martin Bealor, Conrad Mark, Harry Etter, and others as will appear later.

In 1770 Morgan Edwards (11) visited all the congregations of the German Baptists or "Dunkers" in eastern Pennsylvania and gave an excellent though brief account of each. Since the history of the Gish families is intimately connected with the congregations at White Oak and Great Swatara and to a lesser degree with those at Conestoga and Little Swatara, we shall quote Edwards verbatim with regard to the former and make only certain excerpts from the latter.

COCALICO—CONESTOGA

Belonging to this congregation were Elders Michael Frantz, born in Switzerland 1687, died 1747–1748, Elder Michael Pfautz, born in Germany in 1709, died 1767. Jacob Sontag and Elder Christian Longenecker of Whiteoakland were in charge of the congregation in 1770—John Landis, Michael Frantz, Mrs. Histant, Mrs. Muser, etc.

WHITEOAKLAND—WHITE OAK CHURCH

"This society is distinguished as above from a tract of land so called, in the parish of Warwick, Lancaster County, seventy-five miles west by north from Philadelphia, and two miles from Lititz. They hold their meetings at private houses. The Minister is Rev. Christian Longanacre who was born November 11, 1732, in Raffo Twp. Ordained May 15, 1769, at which time he took on him the care of the church. He married Margaret Geib by whom he had six chil-

dren. The families belonging to the society are about thirty-nine, whereof sixty-five persons are baptized. This is their present state. They began in this manner. About the year 1729 one George Reyer, John Longanacre and others came from Germany and settled in this neighborhood. After them came several more from other places who in the year 1736 united together and had the Lord's Supper administered to them by Rev. Michael Pfautz. He was their first minister but lived in Cocalico. He married Catherine Schluch by whom he had four children. He was ordained in the year 1735. He died May 21, 1769, leaving behind him a good character."

"The list of members was as follows in 1770:

Rev. Christian Longanacre and wife, John Zug and wife, Christian Zug and wife, John Longanacre and wife, John Pffautz and wife, Henry Kunsing, Jacob Kunsing and wife, Christian Krabiel and wife, Jacob Zug and wife, Widow Huber, Catherine Bitner, Elizabeth Reir, Abraham Flohry and wife, Conrad Gingle, George Mohler and wife, Elizabeth Huft, Martin Schuh and wife, Henry Geibel and wife, Barbara Eby and four daughters, Henry Eter and wife, Elizabeth Longanacre, Henry Longanacre and wife, Ulrick Longanacre, John Hackman and wife, Henry Stholer and wife, John Laudermilch and wife, George Kline and wife, Catherine Gisch, John Frantz and wife, Ann Huber, Fronica ——, Catherine Reyer,

Salome Borgart, Mrs. Kratzer, Conrad Hausser and wife, George Stohler and wife, Jacob Hershy and wife, Andrew Eby and wife."

GREATSWATARA—BIG SWATARA CHURCH

Sometimes called the East Conewago church. The meetings are chiefly in private houses of Mount Joy township in Lancaster County, twenty miles from Lancaster.

"The preachers are Messrs. George Miller and Adam Hammaker, but not ordained. The families belonging to the congregation are about twenty, whereof thirty-nine persons are baptized. This is their present state. They began in this manner. In the year 1752, the said George Miller embraced the principles of the Baptists, and soon after his wife. Others moved hither from Whiteoakland, and in the year 1756 united with a society having the Rev. Michael Pfautz to their assistance. He continued to visit them while he lived: and after him, others. They proposed soon to ordain Mr. Miller to be their minister."

"The thirty-nine members in 1770 were as follows: George Miller exhorter, and wife and daughter, Adam Hammacker, exhorter, and wife and daughter, Peter Eritstone and wife, Philip Roemer and wife, John Buch and wife, Henry Thomas and wife, Christopher Branser and wife, Margaret Thomas, Philip Reicher

and wife, Peter Bersh and wife, Henry Stohner and wife, Wendel Merich and wife, Frederich Hess and wife, Jacob Eter and wife, George Balsbach and wife, George Henry and wife, Barbara Henry, Freny Cass."

LITTLE SWATARA CHURCH

In the township of Tulpehocken and county of Berks, twenty-five miles from Reading. Some of the people live in Bethel township in Lancaster County. They worship in private homes.

Among the members are Michael, John and Christian Frantz with their wives. David Kline, Sophy Kish.

THE END OF THE JOURNEY

Matthias Gish laid down his tools for the last time in the summer of 1757. Katharine was still living at White Oak in 1770, presumably with the Kratzers who had taken over the old home place and were still living there after the year 1800. There is no record to tell us where they were buried. On the adjoining property of the Lutheran and Reformed churches there is a well preserved old cemetery but nothing to indicate that any Gishes were buried there. Moreover it was not to be expected that any of the members of the Church of the Brethren would be buried in a Reformed or Lutheran cemetery. It was then, and continued to be for a hundred years afterward, the custom to have small

private burial grounds on the farms and the Gish homestead was an example of this custom.

On the slope of the hillside about two hundred yards east of the house there is a small enclosure with a number of graves marked with carved headstones. All that can be read are of names of later occupants of the land. But there are several stones with no inscriptions, initials or dates on them and these may well have marked the graves of the first owners of the land.

Even before the death of Matthias some of his children had begun to scatter and before the end of the century some had moved to Virginia, others also soon crossed the Susquehanna and were part of the great migration westward. It is therefore only natural that these should have lost contact with the cradle of their American infancy and even forgotten the name of their first American ancestor, but two of his sons and their descendants remained in the near vicinity and yet they also had lost all knowledge of the first fifty years of the family life in America. The kinship of the Gishes with the Kratzers was forgotten and with the death of Peter Kratzer that family also soon scattered and the name disappeared from the White Oak neighborhood.

Nevertheless, with persistent search through many musty volumes the facts, so far set forth, slowly came to light. This came about just in time to call for a meeting of his descendants to celebrate the bicenten-

nial of the landing of Matthias Gish in Pennsylvania. The meeting was held on August 17, 1933, in the nearby village of Manheim and from here the meeting adjourned to Penryn where a tablet commemorating the event was unveiled. Upon this tablet is inscribed the following:

On this spot stood the smithy of
MATTHIAS GISH
German immigrant
of 1733
Who secured by grant of the Penns
a homestead of 170 acres lying to
the north and west of this point
Here were born to
Matthias and Katharine his wife
eight children
Christian Gish
Anna (Kreitzer)
John Gish
Katharine (Buehler)
Abraham Gish
Jacob Gish (without issue)
David Gish
Anna Maria (Brinser)
Whose descendants have erected
this memorial in the year
1933.

THE SEVEN TRIBES

CHRISTIAN AND SOPHIA

FIVE years after the death of his father, Christian, in the capacity of administrator sells the farm to his brother-in-law, Peter Kratzer. In the deed, which is dated 1762, the following facts are recited, viz.: Christian is the eldest son; Anna, married to Peter Kratzer, and John are above the age of twenty-one; Katherine, Abraham, Jacob, David and Anna Maria are minors and their guardians are Christian Larier, Conrad Mack and Christian Kish.

The real estate had been appraised a year before at three hundred and fifty pounds but it was sold for "Three Hundred and sixty-one Pounds and Fourteen Shillings lawful money of Pennsylvania." The widow Katharine was by law entitled to a dowerright of one third.

At this time Christian is recorded as blacksmith of Lebanon township and his name is on the tax lists of

that township from 1759 to 1780. In 1764 he bought four acres in the township of Lebanon, adjoining the town of Lebanon and it may be that it was part of this tract which was involved in a transaction which is of some historic interest.

On the thirteenth of March, 1765, the Rev. John Casper Stover and Mary Catharine his wife, Christopher Weyman and Eva Maria his wife, Philip Greenwalt and Margaretta his wife, Casper Snebele and Sabina his wife, Christian Gish and Sophia his wife, George Hock and Sophia his wife, and Ulrich Snebele and Eva his wife conveyed to Jacob Bickel, Daniel Stroh, Philip Fensler and Michael Reiter a certain tract of land for the use of the Lutheran congregation. The consideration stipulated for in this debenture was "*the yearly rent of one red rose in June in every year forever hereafter if the same shall be lawfully demanded*" by the grantors.

When one delves through ancient archives one often runs across romance in places where they might be least expected such as in wills and deeds. This one of the red rose was not original with the couples named above. It was a device used previously by the Penns under similar circumstances but whether it was original with them I cannot say.

At a later date, 1772, the same symbolism was used by von Stiegel in granting a tract of land for the use of a church in Manheim. This incident is made the

occasion for an annual celebration by the church when one of the heirs of the grantor actually appears to claim his red rose.

How Christian came to be associated with the company in which his name appears in the above transaction is puzzling. His wife Sophia was a member of the Little Swatara congregation of the Brethren. Whether Christian had any church affiliation we do not know but up to the time of his death in Virginia he was uniformly associated with the Brethren.

This John Casper Stover, together with his father, arrived from Rotterdam in 1728 and was one of the most prominent leaders in the first years of the Lutheran church in America. Snebeles and Greenawalts became associated with Gishes through marriages in the next generation and the George and Sophia Hock here mentioned were the parents of Sophia Gish and fellow voyagers of Matthias and Katharine on the *Pennsylvania Merchant*.

Although Christian was a craftsman he did not confine his interest to the forge and anvil. Whenever he saw an opportunity of advancing his fortunes by modest investments in real estate he profited by the steady increase in the value of land due to the rapid increase in the population. So we find from the tax lists that his holdings fluctuated from year to year. At one time, while still living in Lebanon township he was paying taxes on four hundred acres.

Of all the Gishes Christian seems to have been least tied to the soil. Before long he was interested in the movement to the west. Lebanon was only about fifteen miles to the north of White Oak, across South Mountain, and it was not much farther by the comparatively easy road. Twenty-five miles from Lebanon down the valley of the Swatara to the west was Harris' ferry where an ever increasing number of home seekers with their possessions were crossing the Susquehanna and disappearing into the wilderness beyond. Christian probably joined one of the caravans of Conestoga wagons on a tour of exploration to confirm for himself the glowing reports of the opportunities offered by "the west." At any rate, he was one of the first purchasers of lots in the town of Shippensburg which lies near the boundary between the counties of Cumberland and Franklin. This was in 1763.

THE FIRST MOVE WESTWARD

At the beginning of the Revolution Christian was still living at Lebanon and was enrolled in a Lancaster County company of "Associators" but in 1777 he bought a farm in Southampton township, near Shippensburg and he and his three sons were all members of the company of Captain Alexander Peebles, Cumberland county militia.

Many other Lancaster County families had moved into this part of Cumberland County and the region

southwest toward Chambersburg in Franklin County. Among these were some of the clan to which the Gishes belonged and among these Christian's sons found their wives and his daughter Elizabeth, her husband. Each of his sons was provided with a farm, or a farm and mill. These were described as follows: One "Plantation" of 153 acres; one Plantation of 62 acres with "Messuage or tenement" and "Grist and Merchant mill" and a "Plantation" of 108 acres with "Messuage" and sawmill. Christian retained title in these properties and when they were sold in 1792–1794 he received for them a total of three thousand four hundred and twenty-five pounds.

One might think that he was doing very well and should be content to spend the days that remained to him where he was. But Christian was not yet an old man—less than sixty—and evidently he was not averse to a change. So after a period of about fifteen years in Shippensburg he sold two of the farms and was on the way southward into the "Valley" of Virginia.

INTO "THE VALLEY"

Almost from the beginning of the German migration into Pennsylvania there were some who did not tarry long in Penn's woods but passed on to the west and south to the valley of the Shenandoah. Here they thought they could live peaceably with the Indians but during the French and Indian wars they

suffered severely at the hands of their treacherous neighbors. After the war a thin stream of migration began again which, during the seventies and eighties grew rapidly into a flood which carried Christian together with other Gishes and many of their clan along.

The first settlements of Germans, coming from the north, lodged in the northern counties of the Valley but gradually, as new companies arrived, they pushed on farther to the south as the choice lands, not yet occupied, lured them on.

So far as our interests are concerned the crest of the tide was reached in 1792. With the exception of Rockbridge County, in all of the Valley as far south as Salem the Germans constituted a large percentage of the first settlers. Christian and his clan came to rest at a point a few miles north of Salem, near a village known as Big Lick, now Roanoke. They purchased lands on Tinker Creek, Glade Creek and Roanoke River. The village of Amsterdam formed a center for the Gish clan and its inhabitants were part of the clan. Howe says of Amsterdam that it was settled by brethren from the monastic colony of Ephrata. This is obviously an error. Besides we know the antecedents of the Amsterdammers. They were members of the "Church of the Brethren." The leader of the Ephrata colony and many of his followers had been members of the Brethren Church also

but the colony itself represented a defection from that denomination. It died out without having established any lineal offspring.

The first move made by Christian was only a matter of seventy miles—by present highways. From Shippensburg to Amsterdam is, by comparable measurement, about two hundred and seventy miles. By the original roads, which, although they follow the same general course, the distance must have been perhaps twice as great because of all the windings necessary to avoid obstacles and make easier grades. Still for the modern motorist it is difficult to conceive of the difficulty of travel in the absence of improved roads.

By improved roads we mean of course not only metal surfacing, but also surfacing of any sort, grading of all sorts, removal of obstacles, such as rocks and stumps and the building of bridges. Up to this time there were no such roads and for the most part at every step this history antedates such roads.

ROADS

With the settlement of all available arable land in Lancaster County by the Germans with their expert and intensive development of the land, the region about the city of Lancaster became wealthy and the city soon became the largest inland (i.e. not reached by water transport) city of America. Also, the highly efficient system of transportation developed by these Germans in the form of the Conestoga wagon

and the breed of horses which were an essential part of the system, Lancaster had after all an outlet to the commerce of the world.

There were many thousands of the Conestoga wagons in regular service out of Philadelphia and the major part were in use over the Philadelphia-Lancaster road.

The wagons themselves were constructed to carry great loads and each wagon was drawn by four, or usually six, horses. It is not difficult to imagine what the result would be of such traffic over an unimproved road. But here, as usual, a difficulty brought about a remedy. The road from Philadelphia to Lancaster in time became the Lancaster Pike. But that time had not yet arrived. Moreover the freighting traffic did not stop at Lancaster. It went on, far beyond, to Harrisburg, where it crossed the river by Harris' ferry—Harrisburg itself had not been born—and from there on into the illimitable west, to Pittsburg, to Ohio.

"EXTEMPORE ON A WAGON"

A vivid picture of the situation in regard to roads in general and this road in particular was drawn by the pen of a Moravian missionary, Brother Loskiel (12), who set out from Bethlehem for his mission at Gnadennutten, Ohio, in the summer of 1802. He was accompanied by his wife and a lady friend. Their course at first ran counter to the main route of travel

but it brought them through Lititz which was one of the original Moravian settlements. Lititz and Manheim are each within three miles of White Oak. At Mount Joy they came out on the main highway from Philadelphia to Harrisburg, and he makes note of a change in the condition of the road—not for the better.

Of the roads at the beginning he says:

"The roads are miserably poor,
That we had rather made the tour on foot
But that we knew its length
. . . . .
Would overtax our feeble strength."

At Emmaeus he stopped to baptize a child, whose father then accompanied them, on horseback, to the next stop. They pass through Lititz, Manheim and Mount Joy.

"The roads now grow amazing bad,
Such rattling, bumping ne'er we had.
The bumps to right and left declare,
Both loud and plain how bad they were.
Now suddenly there is a thud;
Rose Anna fell into the mud.
And lost thereby one of her shoes,
In finding which some time we lose."

They cross the Swatara, pass through Middletown—

"And for the Susquehanna made.
This wide stream here we shallow found
And soon have crossed it safe and sound."

This crossing was made by Harris ferry. From here on, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Strasburg and Emmitsburg mark their trail across the state. After Carlisle was passed he says "To-day I walked the greater part" and afterward that came to be a matter of course and:

"They early riding on ahead,
We follow (on foot) after farewells said."

. . . . .

The walker evidently would outdistance the vehicle.

"At Strasburg where at noon we stop,
We looked up at the mountain top
That 'fore us rose so steep and high;
No use of hurry here, thought I.
We now ascend the first steep hill;
With sorrow it my muse did fill.

. . . . .

"More arduous was the second hill,
Twas steeper far, and rockier still;
This too, however, we crossed to-day,
With weary limbs, but hearts still gay.
I climbed the hills in cheerful mood,
Armed with a slender staff of wood;
And my dear little company
In the same manner followed me.

After Emmitsburg came still another hill—

"It is the highest of the three,
And also may the steepest be;
Yet I climbed up and down its sides
With strength such as the Lord provides."

At the next convenient place they pause to take a rest and while the others of the company are busy writing letters Brother Loskiel *takes a walk!*

From now on the story is no longer punctuated with the names of towns but only the name of a wayside inn or the house of a friend living in the wilderness: Jamiesons, Wilies—"a vile rats nest,"—Martins, etc.

They cross the Juniata, come to Bedford, and so on to the crest of the Alleghenies.

"The prospect from the summit here
Was beautiful, immense and clear;
A pity, though, it makes one feel
America is unfinished still."

. . . . .

Mountains and rocks by day and rats at night formed the substance of a continual refrain.

IN "THE VALLEY"

A traveler passing through the Shenandoah section during the early days gives a glowing description of life as he saw it there:

"The low grounds upon the banks of the Shenandoah are very rich and fertile. They are chiefly settled by the Germans, who gain a sufficient livelihood by raising stock for the troops, and sending butter down into the lower parts of the country. I could not but reflect with pleasure on the situation of these people, and think, if there is such a thing as

happiness in this life, they enjoy it. Far from the bustle of the world, they live in the most delightful climate and richest soil imaginable. They are everywhere surrounded with beautiful prospects and sylvan scenes, lofty mountains, transparent streams, falls of water, rich valleys, and majestic woods; the whole interspersed with an infinite variety of flowering shrubs, constitute the landscape surrounding them. They are subject to few diseases, are generally robust, and live in perfect liberty. They are ignorant of want, and are acquainted with but few vices. Their inexperience of the elegances of life precludes any regret that they have not the means of enjoying them; but they possess what many princes would give half their domain for—health, content, and tranquility of mind" (13).

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

It is a curious fact that while family tradition of the Tinker Creek settlement has preserved the memory of Sophia, the name of Christian was entirely forgotten. And stranger still, Sophia's maiden name was kept in mind. The explanation may be that Sophia long outlived her husband and lived in intimate and affectionate association with her own children and with their cousins who also called her mother.

It was in May of 1796, only four years after the

new settlement was established, that Christian signed his will which stated in the preamble that he was "weak and sick of body but of sound and disposing mind and memory and understanding." At the term of court of the following month of June the will was probated at Fincastle, the county seat of Botetourt County.

All of Christian's children ultimately left Virginia with the possible exception of Katharine who was blind and unmarried. A few of his grandchildren remained, however, and their many descendants may still be found in and about Roanoke and other parts of the state.

CHRISTIAN SECOND

Christian's oldest son was also named Christian. His wife, Barbara, probably came with him from Lebanon. Christian and Barbara had a family of sons of the magic number seven. Christian was a minister and the one great thing that is remembered of him is that he was much beloved by his neighbors. And yet he was not content in Virginia. We have no explanation of this but possibly it is to be found in the reason given by at least two other branches of the family for leaving the state before many years had passed.

The institution of slavery was repugnant to the Germans, first of all, on religious grounds and it will

be remembered that the first recorded public protest against slavery was made by the Germans at Germantown.

Furthermore, slavery could not be adjusted to the mode of living which was so thoroughly ingrained in German habits, without completely upsetting it socially and economically.

Possibly it was the "genius" of the Breckenridge family which lured the Gishes on. Christian Gish (the first) bought his main tract of land in Virginia from a Breckenridge and Christian Gish, the son, bought a large tract of land in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky, from another Breckenridge. This latter land was part of what was called a military grant.

Be these things as they may, Christian bought the land in 1807 and before long he with all his boys were on their way to Kentucky.

One of the good old customs which has disappeared in the kaleidoscopic changes of time is that of accompanying a friend on the first stage of a journey (recall the friend who rode with Brother Loskiel). If the journey was to take weeks it was appropriate to travel along for a whole day. Christian had so many sorrowing friends that they ate up all the provisions that had been prepared beforehand, or so they say.

Usually, in these stories of the long journey into the west, the inconveniences and vexations have been forgotten or remembered only with amusement. But the hegira of Christian had a tragic issue.

When crossing the mountains there was an accident with one of the wagons and Christian was killed.

We know nothing of the company with which they were traveling. But there were almost certainly others so that the widow Barbara and her sons were not without help in this emergency. We only know that the body of Christian was carried along to their destination packed in a box of salt.

In Muhlenburg County these migrants from Virginia formed what was known as the Dutch Settlement and the nucleus of it now is the village of Bremen. Other families in this locality were the Noffsingers, Danners, Whitmers, Kitlingers, Youts, etc., all from the White Oak clan via Virginia.

JOHN

John Gish, the second son of Christian married a daughter, Katharine, of William Stover of Franklin County, Pennsylvania. She died about 1790, leaving three daughters. He then married Mary (Wagner) by whom he had another daughter and five sons.

This family became widely scattered and most of them have not been traced. However, at an early date, some moved to Ohio, some to Indiana and Illinois and there is now said to be a contingent of 500 in Minnesota.

ELIZABETH

The only daughter of Christian, to leave issue, was

Elizabeth, who married Samuel Harshbarger, the son of a neighbor in Franklin County, Pennsylvania.

The Harshbargers (11) went to Virginia in 1792 though Samuel's brother Christian had gone several years before. The Harshbargers were a virile race and Elizabeth, through her six children who lived, became the grandmother of sixty-two.

In 1828 her son Jacob went to Indiana and there purchased a large tract of land on the Wabash near Lafayette. He then returned to Virginia and made preparations to move his family out of slave territory, as it is expressly stated in their family history that the Harshbargers could find no way to adapt themselves to the economic system involved in slavery.

In 1831 he led a band of about fifty persons, with horses, wagons and cattle to a point near Ladoga where they made a permanent settlement and where many of their descendants reside to-day. Jacob disposed of his land on the Wabash because it lay in a malarial district. Instead he bought much land to the extent of 3000 acres in the vicinity of Ladoga.

One of Elizabeth's daughters, Susan, married John Bonsack. This was the only branch of the family to remain in Virginia and at the site of their home grew up the village of Bonsack. Their descendants are still numerous in the vicinity of Roanoke.

Another daughter, Catherine, married first a Bonsack and then her second husband was Joseph Bru-

baker. In 1836 the Brubakers moved to Tennessee and then, 1853, to Iowa.

The other three children of Elizabeth with their families moved to Indiana within five years after Jacob led the way. They also settled at or near Ladoga.

In 1840 Samuel Harshbarger, a son of Jacob, moved to Missouri to a point west of Springfield, and there established another permanent settlement of the offspring of Matthias Gish.

GEORGE

The youngest son of Christian Gish was George. He married Susanna Stover, a sister of John's wife. His oldest son, Jacob, married Rebecca Harshbarger and moved to Highland County, Ohio, in 1816. In 1828, they moved to LaFayette, Indiana, where they remained. David, another son of George, married Susan Harshbarger and with her settled near LaFayette about 1829. Elizabeth, a daughter of George, married John Beckner and with him moved to Laporte, Indiana, in 1834. Abraham lived for a time in Virginia and some of his children remained there. Ultimately, however, he moved to Camden, Indiana, and some of his sons settled in Indiana, some in Illinois, and Nebraska. Two other sons of George, Christian and William also moved to the middle west at an early date.

About 1850 a group of the Brethren arrived in Woodford County, Illinois. Some of them came first to Elkhart, Indiana, but passed on to Illinois a year or two later. They established the first church in the vicinity. This was known as the Panther Creek Church. That they were early arrivals may be judged from the fact that in one case, at least, there were only four families in the township.

Most of these settlers came from the vicinity of Roanoke, Virginia, and hence they named the county seat of the new county Roanoke. In this group were the following sons and grandsons of George, second: Christian, Abraham, William, Garman, George, Thomas W., Lewis C., James R., John, Joseph and others. George W., James R., and John were ministers. Several of the Gishes were elected to county offices at the beginning and they continued to be prominent in county affairs thereafter.

Other families associated with the Gishes in Woodford County may be recognized as members of the clan. Some of these are Frantz, Kindig, Pfautz, Houtz, Nafsinger, Brubaker; these all were associated in the White Oak settlement and together made the various moves via Virginia to Illinois.

At present the descendants of this branch of the Gishes are widely distributed over central Illinois but many have also spread farther to the west, especially to Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas.

ANNA AND PETER

We have no certain information about the antecedents of Peter Kratzer. There was a Peter Kratzer among the company who came to Tulpehocken from Schoharie in 1723 and at a later date there were many of that name in Lebanon County. There was a later arrival of the same name in the Conestoga settlement.

Whoever he may have been he was faithful in his stewardship of the old Gish estate and left it enlarged and increased in value. He added by purchase an area equal to the original farm. This extended over the ridge from the southern edge of the third Matthias Gish tract and included all of what is now the western end of the village.

He was honored by his neighbors as is shown by his election to positions of trust.

He had confidence in the ability of his wife, since in his will he leaves to her the original farm, in addition to $200 in cash, with all equipment necessary to run it and he appoints her one of the executors of his will. No mention is made in the will of the shop although the word "tools" is used. This may, of course, have referred to any other tools. The shop with a small patch of ground has long been detached from the farm and this may have taken place during the life of Kratzer. In place of the shop, however, Peter had conducted a tanning business and all the

equipment for this is specifically included in the bequest to Anna.

We may also say Anna was wise in her choice of a husband.

Peter signed his will in 1780 but the estate was not divided among the children until 1803 which probably represents approximately the year of her death.

Anna Kratzer was a member of the White Oak congregation of the Church of the Brethren in 1770.

In his will Peter names his nine children: John, Anna, Jacob, Mary, Abraham, Susanna (married to Jacob Ratz), Peter, Elizabeth (married to Abraham Beahm), Christian and Cathrenia (married to Jacob Zahm).

When the final administration of the estate took place it again passed into the hands of a son-in-law. This was Elizabeth's husband, Abraham Beahm. The oldest son, John, died before his mother, Peter was living in Indiana County in the western part of the state, Jacob was probably in Cumberland County.

Of the other sons we have no definite information but the name Kratzer disappeared entirely from the locality within a few years.

The migrations of this family have not been accurately traced but there is abundant circumstantial evidence that they followed the trend of the time, i.e., that they first moved westward as far as Indiana County and then southward into the Shenandoah

valley. They were found in Washington County, Maryland (Hagerstown), and at various points southward as far as the southern end of Shenandoah County, Virginia. At Woodstock the names Saum (Zahm) and Boehm occur many times, also Ratz and other names of the clan, such as Haak and Hisey.

The Kratzers made a settlement not far north of Harrisonburg and the name persists in the "Kratzer road" leading from Harrisonburg to Linville and Timberville.

JOHN AND ELIZABETH

John, the second son of Matthias, married Elizabeth Kapp, the daughter of an immigrant, Michael Kapp. They established themselves near the Little Chiques Creek about seven miles west of White Oak.

John was also a blacksmith. He bought and sold several tracts of land and had a farm where he lived. John was still a young man when he died,—probably under forty-five. The manner of his death is in some doubt but at the muster roll-call of Captain Thomas Robinson's Company of Lancaster County militia, on April twenty-first, 1783, he was reported dead. The fact that two other members of the company were reported dead at the same roll-call suggests that there had been an engagement with these several casualties as a result. Robinson's company was the eighth com-

pany of the fourth Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Jacob Cook.

SCRUPLES CONCERNING WAR

It will be remembered that one of the cardinal tenets of the Brethren, and of the Mennonites as well, was that war was fundamentally wrong and they refused to bear arms. This was one of the reasons why they often came into conflict with civil authority. In Switzerland especially they had suffered severely for this cause. Many times before and in many places this same issue had arisen as it also has since.

So at the outbreak of the war with England this conflict with civil authority had to be faced again. At first there were many who refused to enlist and instead paid the fine which was levied against them. After the first year or two, however, the pressure became too great and most of the German sectarians enlisted in the local organizations of county militia. In this way it came about that all of the sons of Matthias were enrolled. Their names may be found among the enrollees of Lancaster, Dauphin and Cumberland Counties as recorded in the Pennsylvania Archives.

The sons-in-law, Peter Kratzer, Jacob Buehler and John Brinser were also enrolled in the companies found in their respective localities.

At the time of John's death all his children were under age and the youngest only about a year old.

The estate was therefore not settled until twenty years later.

There were seven children; the oldest son was John, then followed Christian, Anna Maria, Abraham, Jacob, Matthias and Katharine.

With possibly one exception all these with their families remained in the east central parts of Pennsylvania, that is more specifically, in Lancaster, Dauphin, Lebanon, Mifflin and Perry Counties.

Of the grandchildren two deserve to be made note of as pioneers. Jacob the son of Jacob is said to have taken part in the 1849 gold rush, going to California by ship around Cape Horn. The other was one of the granddaughters. This was Elizabeth, a sister of Jacob. In a letter written in March, 1908, she gives a succinct account of how she came to be one of the first settlers of Wisconsin. She says: "I was married on March 4, 1848, to Samuel Kemmerer of Monroe, Pennsylvania. We were both born and brought up in Monroe County. We emigrated by wagon in the fall of 1849 to Rock County, Wisconsin. My first child Abram was then a baby. There were four families in the company and we had a nice trip; slept in our wagons and cooked our meals all the way. We were six weeks on the way."

She further says in this letter that besides the three sons and one daughter living in or near Janesville she has a son, Abram, in Oregon and a daughter in Atlanta.

Some of the incidents of the "nice trip" have been preserved in the family records. On one occasion the baby fell out of the wagon, in front, among the feet of the horses, but fortunately was not hurt. Or again: When they reached Ohio the peaches were ripe and they were told to help themselves. This they did by preserving some in crocks and trying to dry some. The attempt at drying, however, was not very successful. They thought to do this by stringing the halved peaches on a loop of string suspended from the bows of the wagon cover. But by the jolting of the wagon, the soft flesh of the peach pulled off of the string.

In later years another brother of Jacob and Elizabeth, Dr. Samuel H., also moved to Janesville. These families became firmly established in Wisconsin and adjoining states, Minnesota and Dakota.

Jacob, the seeker for gold, remained in California and his grave is said to be at Sacramento.

Although in other branches of the family the tendency in migration has been almost entirely westward the descendants of John Gish also moved toward the east so that now they are to be found from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Long Beach, California. Included in this scope would be Bridgeport, Connecticut, New York City, Philadelphia, Allentown and East Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania. None have been reported from south of Virginia. Many of John's descendants are still living within a radius of ten miles of his original homestead.

KATHARINE AND JACOB

The Buehlers also have been somewhat elusive. The name was not common and has been corrupted into many forms.

There was a Peter Boehler, a Moravian missionary ordained by Count Zinzendorf and sent by him to Carolina to look after the Moravian settlement there. He was a friend of John Wesley upon whom he exercised a profound influence.

After the failure of the Carolina settlement Boehler led the remnant of his flock to Bethlehem and doubtless also visited Lititz. Whether our Jacob Buehler was in any way related to this Peter is only a matter of conjecture. Another clue may be found in the fact that the York County Buehlers of to-day say their ancestors were Moravians.

Jacob Buehler owned a farm in the vicinity of White Oak which he sold in 1772. After this he is living in Codorus Township, York County, where his father Michael had taken up several hundred acres in grants from the Penns. Jacob receives part of this from his father and in addition takes out a patent for 275 acres additional.

In 1792 Jacob sells his Codorus lands and in the same year his name appears on the records of Augusta County, Virginia. He located here on Middle River near Churchville.

His will was written in 1800 and proved in 1804.

There is evidence that he was still living in 1802. Katharine says she raised twelve children but only nine appear in the text of the will. There were four sons: George, Jacob, Martin and Christian, and five daughters: Anna Maria, Mary Fisher, Elizabeth Neidner, Christinia Zimmerman, and Barbara Kella.

The name Buehler has been Anglicised to Baylor and for this reason has been confused with another Virginia family originating in Great Britain.

ABRAHAM AND SUSANNA

In 1774 Abraham Gish bought one hundred and forty acres in Mount Joy Township near the home of his father-in-law, Jacob Kuhns. This he sold in 1786 for thirteen hundred pounds. In the previous year he had bought a tract of about six hundred acres in Donegal Township.

At this time there were nine children in the family, Jacob the oldest being eighteen years of age. One more child was born in Donegal.

Among Abraham's neighbors in Donegal were others of the clan some of whom had formerly lived in the vicinity of White Oak. Among others the following names will be familiar to any member of the Donegal clan: Brenneman, Longenecker, Bossler, Root (Rutt), Stauffer, Ebersole, Kapp, Zimmerman, Haldeman, Nissley, Heisey, Musser, Engle, Berg, Bowman, Bower, Grove, Graybill, Hershey, Herr,

Horst, Hess, Hawk, Hostetter, Hoover, Mumma, Meyer, Mishey, Nissley, Neff, Ober, Brubaker, Shank, Stover, Stehman, Wenger, Witmer, Hamaker.

Abraham died in 1789 at the age of about forty-five. He left a wife and ten children only one of whom, Jacob, had reached his majority. There was a mortgage on the farm to secure part of the purchase price but the payments were met as they fell due and the mortgage was released in 1794.

By his will Abraham directed that Jacob, being the oldest son, should have a certain white horse, but the rest of the estate should be divided equally between the ten children. The land was to be appraised by a jury of six men and then divided into three equal portions which were to go to the three oldest sons, Jacob, Abraham, and John. These sons were to pay for the land at its appraised value in a series of annual payments, the proceeds from these payments to go to the other children.

Abraham further directed that John should have the part of the farm on which he, Abraham, was then living. This was the northern part which is crossed at its north eastern corner by a branch of the Conoy Creek. Abraham was to have the southern third and Jacob the one lying in the middle. This division of the estate, so far as the land was concerned took place in 1794, when John came of age.

For Susanna, Abraham provided that a house should

be built "by the spring" at a point near the home of his neighbor, John Longenecker, unless she preferred to live with her son John. Whatever her choice may have been a house was built at the spring and successive younger generations lived there while their elders occupied the main house. Later this house became the tenement for the family of the "hired man."

For their labor on the home place after they had come of age Jacob and Abraham received twenty pounds per annum from the estate. Katharine received pay in the same way, for ten months' service at the rate of eight pounds per annum. Jacob remains in the employ of the estate in this way for three years, Abraham for three years and nine months. These adjustments between the members of the family followed stipulations of the will.

JACOB

Jacob Gish sold his part of the original farm and bought one adjoining John's on the north. He married Mary Stehman and had only two children, John S. and Maria. John S. married Anna Brenneman and he fell heir to his father's farm which was known as the John S. Gish place within my recollection. The place is still owned by his descendants. Maria married Michael Brenneman.

Jacob was prominent in Donegal. He often served in the capacity of administrator of estates and was

named executor of wills. His friends and neighbors came to him for advice and assistance in many ways. He carefully preserved documents of various kinds and these were fortunately preserved by his descendants and have been a source of much of the information contained in this account of the family.

Jacob Gish was elected to the State Legislature in the years 1805–'6–'7–'8–'9 and '24.

ABRAHAM

Abraham Gish, son of Abraham, married Anna Longenecker. They had a large family of ten children all of whom, excepting two, moved to the west as pioneers. John L., the second son, bought the home place and lived there up to his death in 1880. The fourth son, Christian, lived in Philadelphia as an employee of the Disston Saw Co.

Of the others, Elizabeth, married to John Kapp. Jacob, and Polly, married to Moses Rutt, moved to Wayne County, Ohio. Nancy, married to Henry Rutt went to Ashland County, Ohio. Abraham and Michael finally settled in Williams County, Ohio, while Catherine married to John Mayer took her family to Cedar County, Iowa and David settled in Clinton County, Iowa.

PIONEERING IN OHIO

The Abraham just referred to had a son Abraham who styled himself "Abraham S. Gish 4th." He

was six years old when the family moved to Ohio in 1840, and in a brief autobiography which he wrote in 1911 he gives an account of the pioneer days. The following, with some omissions and slight changes in phraseology is his story:

"In 1840 my parents with their family consisting of two boys and two girls, Levi and Abraham, Leah and Anna migrated to Ohio, crossing the Alleghanies by wagon, since there were no railroads west of the mountains at that time.

We had one big heavy wagon drawn by four horses and one one-horse wagon. Two hired men went with the wagons while we, the family, came in a covered carriage. This carriage had doors and steps at each side and was considered a very good one.

I do not remember much about that journey,—only the mountains. In many places the road was so narrow that two vehicles could not pass each other. Occasionally a deeper cut was made into the hillside to widen the roadway. We could look up the pine-clad wall of the mountain on one side while on the other there was a precipice hundreds of feet down.

I well remember that Mother fainted while looking down the abyss. Fortunately we had a camphor bottle handy. A little of that and some rest and she recovered.

This was the road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg by way of Harrisburg which was a distance of over

three hundred miles. Many four and six horse teams with their heavy wagon and schooner wagon-beds were on the road constantly, engaged in the regular business of transportation.

We lived for a year in a little cross roads town called Paradise, in Wayne County, Ohio. It was at that time that William Henry Harrison was running for the presidency. We used to "hurrah for Tippicanoe and Tyler too". That summer too, while I was playing Washington with my hatchet, I cut a gash in my foot which left a scar that still remains.

In the next spring we moved to the farm of Mrs. Bechtel near Wooster. In the following fall, Father went west on horseback to spy out the land and try to find a place on which to locate permanently.

In the spring of 1842 preparations were made for the removal to Williams County, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles. The trip took three weeks on account of bad roads. There were three families of us; our own uncle Mike and aunt Katy Gish with four children and Sam Bear and family. Again the big Conestoga wagon was loaded for the four horses and there were other wagons but I do not remember how many.

Father and Mother and brother Levi and I rode in the carriage which had brought us over the mountains two years before. It was a hard and tedious journey. The stone turnpike was just being constructed.

Father, in company with two other men, had gone to Lockport in the autumn before, on horseback, and he had bought the Lockport Mill property of Adam Wurts. In due time we all arrived at Lockport, however our big Pennsylvania wagon with its big schooner bed never reached its destination. From the Bowsher and Greely settlement eight miles north east of Lockport they found only a winding wagon trail and the big wagon could go no further. The wagon was left behind and ultimately sent back to Wayne County and sold. Ox teams were sent out to bring in the load.

When we, in the carriage, arrived within three quarters of a mile of Lockport, in driving through a swale, the water being perhaps a foot deep, one of our horses got his foot fast between some roots and got down. Father had to get out and unhitch the team in order to get the horse up and out. Then he carried us out upon dry land and we went the rest of the way on foot. An ox team was sent to bring in the carriage but we never used it afterward as there were no roads. Later it was sold and taken to Defiance, Ohio. It was probably the first carriage to appear in that part of the country.

Though I was only a lad of eight, I have some vivid recollections of pioneer life in north-western Ohio. When we came to Lockport we found about seven acres of the woods chopped down and partly cleared

about the mill and mill property that father had bought. And there was about as much more up along the street as far north as where the DeGroff house and barn now stand. There was a hewn log house, then vacant, known as the Guthrie house. Uncle Mike Gish and family occupied it the first year and Dr. J. E. Hendricks and sister Leah, the second year. The Hull house was built and occupied by Augustus F. Hull as a dwelling and general store.

There was a vacant blacksmith shop and two or three houses or cabins within a quarter of a mile but otherwise there were no settlers for three miles around. The mill property that father had bought consisted of a sawmill with an upright sash saw and a run of about twenty-inch nigger-head stone on which to grind corn. Father added a bolting arrangement which enabled him to grind buckwheat and also some wheat.

All Williams County was one dense forest of heavy timber and the pioneer settlers had to undergo many inconveniences and privations and opportunities for schooling were exceedingly limited. There were no school houses and almost no school funds.

The vacant log house on lot one hundred and ten in Lockport was secured and used for school purposes for several terms. It was about twenty by twenty-six feet with the logs slightly hewn down on the inside. There was one window on each side and an open fireplace with a stick chimney built on the out-

side. In this we used to build roaring fires. Strong pegs driven into the walls were used to support boards, slightly inclined, which served as writing desks. When writing we sat facing the walls. For seats we had benches made of slabs with strong pegs for legs.

But we lived through all these privations and grew up with the country. We seemed to enjoy life as well as people do now and we were more sociable and neighborly though our neighbors were sometimes three or five miles away.

About this time a young doctor, Joel E. Hendricks, came in from the east and hung up his shingle. Our school board engaged him to teach the winter term of school at twelve dollars per month of twenty-four days each and he to "board around". The school board thought this good wages and expected a good teacher. Mr. Hendricks preferred to board himself and board at one place. During the middle of the day he taught school but of mornings and evenings he looked after the sick and administered his quinine and pills.

The school funds ran short and part of his salary had to be raised by subscription. Toward the close of this term he married Leah Gish, my older sister. Miss Polly Miller taught a summer term in the log house, and one term in a room in the Hull house and her sister, Kate Miller, taught one winter term in a room in father's home.

In the year 1845 a contract was awarded Lewis and William Newcomer to build the first school house. It was to be of substantial frame construction and the contract price was one hundred and sixty dollars. The floor was of oak, oak shingles, poplar ceiling, and siding one inch thick. The house was to be set on oak blocks, full seating provided, and the house painted on the outside.

Mrs. Mary Shipman taught the first school in the new school house during the summer of 1846. That school house stood on the spot now occupied by the present school house. There were then two terms of school each year but there never was a graded school.

Sunday schools and religious meetings were held by different denominations in this school house and it was from this school that I graduated and here I first taught school in the summer of 1854.

After teaching two more years I attended Oberlin College for six weeks and quit at Commencement of 1856.

At the close of another year of teaching—about April first—I went to Iowa with my brother Levi, Cousin Abner Gish and Peter Rowland. From there I joined a surveying party. We went up the Mississippi River on a steam boat to Saint Paul, then farther north by team and on foot for one hundred and thirty miles to Crow Wing, Minnesota. We did our surveying on the west side of the river. Thirty miles

below Saint Paul, Peter Rowland and I worked through haying and harvest. We, the two of us, moved by hand and put into stacks one hundred and fifty tons of wild prairie hay for Joe Hopkins.

Then I came down the river by boat as far as Dubuque, Iowa. From there I tramped to Clinton County. After working for a few months with a threshing machine I returned to Lockport about December first 1757. [Having arrived home too late to get a school Abraham spent the winter working for his father but goes on to say that out of twenty-three years he missed teaching only one winter. During the summer he worked on his land, clearing and improving it as well as trying to make good his own deficiency in education.

He then goes on to tell of his marriage and the birth of a child. He bought a yoke of oxen and went to farming on rented land at first, then bought eight acres. On this they built a small house and a log barn. Then he bought a team of horses, planted cherry and apple trees, constructed fences.

Now as his efforts were slowly resolving themselves into a comfortable home, came first one misfortune then another. His first little daughter died. Then not long after his wife died and left him alone with a three weeks old child. In his despair he permitted friends to take care of the baby, sold his stock and farm equipment and also some household supplies,

such as meat, lard, and apple butter and locked up the house.

Some time later he married again and with his infant daughter they unlocked the door of his little house and began again to make a home. In the course of time one more daughter and four sons were added to the family and with them life had its usual ups and downs. One evening while his wife was very ill an incident occurred which we will let him tell in his own words. It is an incident typical of frontier life.

"One evening, an hour before sundown I had to go to the north woods after the cows. Little Charley saw me after I had started and wanted to go too. He was now two years and ten weeks old. It was necessary that I should hurry and I did not think that he would come farther than the gate at the foot of the hill. But he did.

"I returned with the cows just at sundown and inquired for Charley of the hired girl, but she had not seen him after I left.

"I went to the edge of the woods and listened and called but could hear nothing. Then I went across to the neighbors but no one had seen him. Then with some help we started into the woods again in search of the lost boy. It was now getting dark. As it happened, there was prayer meeting at the school house in Lockport and news of the lost boy was soon spread around. In the course of several hours there were

twenty-five men on hand and preparations were made to get lanterns and torches and form a line to search the woods thoroughly. However, before this was effected, at about ten o'clock, Nile Eitle, with a lantern found the boy at a point about one third of a mile up in the woods near Walnut Creek.

"He was sitting on the ground with his little sun bonnet in his hand. Evidently he had been asleep but was just awakened."

[As the fruits of his toil accumulated Abraham had to build larger barns and then also came the time to build a brick house.]

"The winter of 1882–3 was a busy time for I was getting ready material to build our brick dwelling. Scott DeGroff and I drew forty loads of nigger-head stone from Beaver Creek (seven miles) while the sledding was good in January. Then I drew twenty thousand brick from Stryker. I also cut and drew one hundred saw logs and then brought the lumber home. Our home was completed and we moved in about November first of the same year."

Abraham has described Williams County as an unbroken forest but when I passed through it in 1932 it seemed as bare of trees as the palm of a hand. During that same summer I saw something of Wayne County. Here I found the farm houses in many cases to be built of brick and larger and more commodious than one usually finds in the most prosperous

farming community. They were much more pretentious than the average farm house, or almost any farm house, in Lancaster County. At the same time I found that the farmers who were living there in these sumptuous dwellings were having difficulty in merely making a living. They were selling milk at ninety cents per hundred pounds. On asking for an explanation I was told that those houses were not the fruit of the land but of the forest trees which were now gone.

Concerning the Gish-Root families which moved to Ohio, as previously mentioned, the following is taken from an account sent me by a descendant of one of them:

"Moses Rutt and his wife Polly Gish Rutt landed in Wayne County, Ohio, by wagon, from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, with four little children in the year 1837. They purchased a farm of ninty-four acres from Jacob Oxenhide in Greene Township for the sum of $2100.00. Here the remainder of the family of six [ten] children were born. They, being of Mennonite faith and there being no church house of that faith in the community, they sold their farm, December tenth, 1858, to a Mr. Zimmerman for $5882.00 and in the spring of 1859 they moved ten miles west of Smithville, in Chester Township, Wayne County, where they had purchased a farm of one hundred and sixty-seven acres. This was but two

miles from a Mennonite church at what is known as Eight Square. Here they attended church until they were called to their eternal home. William H. Rutt, a grandson of Moses and Polly Rutt, owns the Rutt farm to-day." [Written some years ago but not dated.]

KATHERINE

Katherine, the oldest daughter of Abraham, married John Bossler. They settled in Carlisle at an early date and the family for generations was prominent in the affairs of that city. Some are now living in Nebraska, Utah and California.

JOHN

John, the third son of Abraham, received that third of the Donegal homestead upon which his father had made his home. He married Elizabeth Engle, a daughter of John Engle who lived in Donegal near the Susquehanna River. John had only one son, John I, the "grandfather Gish" of a previous chapter. John and John I. lived together on the same farm for seventy-one years, the older John living to the age of ninety-seven. When the time came for John I. to retire from the active management of the farm he turned it over to the older of his two sons. This was Henry. The other son, Benjamin, was provided with a farm about two miles to the westward.

Under the circumstances there was no economic

pressure to urge any of the male members of this family to migrate until after the turn of the present century when Ezra, the only son of Henry, sold the old place in 1912 and moved with all his family to Alberta, Canada.

John had two daughters, Elizabeth who married Henry Musser and Susan who married Christian Hershey. Both sons-in-law belonged to well-to-do Donegal families and for a considerable time these families remained in the vicinity and to-day many of their descendants live nearby.

CHRISTIAN

Christian Gish died at the age of twenty-two. He left a young widow whose maiden name was Ann Musser. Their only child died in infancy. Father and son are buried in a small graveyard near Schocks Mills.

GEORGE

George Gish lived and died in the village of Hummelstown which is in Dauphin County a few miles east of Harrisburg. He may be said to have become notable many years after his death through two of his great granddaughters—two sisters who are the only known representatives of the Gish families to have achieved more than local distinction.

He also had a son Jonas who was a local celebrity because of his eccentricities. He was tipstaff in the

Dauphin County Court; habitually wore a top hat; was never married. Periodically he made extended visits to his relatives in Lancaster County and these visits are still remembered as he came on foot, in his top hat, long tail coat and carrying a carpet bag. From the notes of Abraham S. Gish 4th I quote: "When Jonas was eighty-five, it was said of him that he is straight as an arrow and can walk a mile in eight minutes. He never rides in the cars, has not worn an overcoat nor any underclothes nor stockings nor mittens nor gloves for fourty years and he never carries an umbrella." When he was thrown off the railroad track by an engine he promptly picked himself up, dusted his coat and remarked that he was not born to be killed by a locomotive. He died at the age of ninety.

In the course of time many of George's descendants have also scattered to the four winds.

DAVID

David Gish married Martha Snivley—the name was probably Schnebele in its original form. He went to Shippensburg near which place he owned a mill. The family through several generations occupied a position of honor and respect in that community.

ELIZABETH

Elizabeth Gish lived in the immediate vicinity of her father's home all her life. Her husband was

Henry Heisey whose farm lay about half a mile north of the Abraham Gish homestead. Many of their descendants are still in the vicinity.

SUSAN

Susan Gish was not married. She lived with her brother Matthias in Mifflin County where she died in 1854 at the age of seventy.

MATTHIAS

Matthias was the youngest of the ten children of Abraham and Susanna. He served his apprenticeship as a miller under his brother David at Shippensburg. Later he had his own mill at Mifflintown on the Juniata River.

His wife was Frances Hamaker.

Later Matthias moved to Brookville, Ohio, where he and his descendants were long well known. Some of his children went to Indiana, Covington and Union City. One son, Dr. Christopher, lived in Montgomery County, Ohio.

THE HOMESTEAD IN DONEGAL

The old homestead in Donegal was not unlike many of its neighbors but it was one of the oldest and when I lived there as a boy it had not yet been spoiled by the renovations and modernizations which later removed so much of the middle-age atmosphere that once hung about it. But if we are to try to

relive for a moment the life of those early actors in the drama of early Pennsylvania we must first try to reconstruct the stage and its setting.

The Lancaster County farmhouses are monotonously alike in the general plan. The dining-room-kitchen was the scene of nine-tenths of the action. It is always a large room. Washing the clothes is usually done elsewhere in the house, or, most likely, in an independent "wash-house" which is provided with large iron kettles for boiling the wash, etc. In summer time the cooking, and often also the dining, are transferred to an ell or else to an outhouse called the "summer house."

The farm buildings of the old Gish home were located on an inclined yard. This had its purpose, especially in the case of the barn, but the house was built in such a way as to take advantage of the slope of the yard. As a result the one side of the house opened on the yard a half-story below the other—i.e., the windows were only half normal height although the room was full pitch. Here was the large dining-room-kitchen and here was also the old great fireplace.

The fireplaces were among the first of the old institutions to go out of commission with the advent of new methods. And let it not be forgotten that the Pennsylvania German was always quick to adopt improved methods notwithstanding whatever contrary

ideas may have obtained general acceptance. This will fully appear as we go along.

Anyhow, with the invention of cook stoves, the fireplaces were all forever closed up, so far as the German farmer was concerned, long before my time.

At the side of the fireplace one may still see the opening which was once the door to the oven but later on, in this case, the oven was advanced in dignity, for it was given a house all its own, naturally called the "bake house."

The new fangled cook stove was placed just in front of the old fireplace and behind it was the wood-box. It was always one of the chores of the younger children of the family to fill up the wood box and keep it replenished. The wood box was large and had a lid so that this article of furniture could be used as a seat but that was not the only reason. The German house-frau is first of all neat though not always ornamental. The lid of the wood box was as much a matter of shutting out the unsightly as to provide a utility seat.

It was the duty of Cousin Annie, who was about my age, to carry in the wood but I think she must have had the feminine art of wheedling. At any rate I remember the old wood box. The wood came from the "wood house," another of the array of outhouses on the yard.

I think the Pennsylvania German must be credited

with having evolved the modern kitchen cabinet. At any rate, long ago they had arrived at a stereotyped pattern of a kitchen sink which had no water supply faucets or drain pipe but was provided with cabinets and a table top for washing dishes. This piece of furniture is still in vogue.

The only other furniture of Uncle Henry's basement dining-room-kitchen that I recall is the table and its seating equipment. The table was a long one and it was placed in a corner. Behind the table, against the wall, was a bench—why bother with chairs when one can lean against the wall?—The older female members of the family sat in the chairs at the other side of the table so that they were free to get up at any time to serve the table. Uncle Henry sat at the end under the high window ledge, and Aunt Sarah —well I can't recall but probably she sat in any seat not otherwise occupied.

The window ledge above Uncle Henry's head was deep, as the wall was of stone, and here rested the Bible and various other articles that he might need. There was always family worship twice a day, before breakfast and in the evening before bed-time. In the summer when supper was served at five o'clock the evening worship came after all work was done. In the winter supper was served by candle-light and then worship was held at the close of the evening meal.

Family worship consisted of the reading of a pas-

sage of the Bible by the head of the family who might also make some remarks thereon if he felt so moved. Then there was the singing of a familiar hymn without any hymn books, and then prayer with everyone kneeling. Thanks, or grace, was said at the close of each meal as well as at the beginning and no one left the table before.

Of course this was long before the day of the electric light. Kerosene lamps were generally used but for some reason candles and "fat lamps" were also used. A possible explanation may be that kerosene had to be bought whereas candles and fat lamps cost nothing. So, making candles was a periodical kitchen chore. I helped in filling the molds with the twisted wicks and after these were carefully centered and knotted into place the mold was filled with the melted tallow. No mineral wax or paraffin was then known. For the use of the smoky fat lamp there is no excuse that I can think of except that in the absence of tallow any old grease or oil would do. The fat lamp is an institution hoary with age and the form used sixty years ago did not differ much from that in use two thousand years ago.

From the windowless side of the kitchen a door led into a cellar with the floor on the same level. From this another door led to another cellar whose floor was on a somewhat lower level and from the second there was another descent into a crypt or vaulted cellar.

These cellars were not mere lumber rooms nor yet furnace rooms with their coal bins. They had the more important function of food preservation and the best way and place of preserving each kind was part of the stock of knowledge of every housewife. The result too was decidedly better than that obtained in the modern electric refrigerator with the jumble of milk, onions, bananas, and beefsteaks all kept together in one small compartment.

Besides these cellars there were others on the place—two in the cottage and one in the barn. These were also vaulted and therefore deeper which resulted in a lower and more equable temperature.

I think the vaulted cellar is to be linked with the making of wine and was one of the ideas which the German brought with him from the old country.

Although some of our Kentucky cousins have confessed that some of their number were somewhat addicted to liquor it can be said very positively for the sectarians of Pennsylvania that they were very temperate in regard to the use of alcoholic liquors.

In the early days with their European antecedents, the Germans had not thought that the use of wine in moderation was questionable. But as the sentiment against alcoholic beverages became more common they gradually discontinued its use altogether.

In the early days they grew grapes and made wine as a matter of course. But I never saw any wine,

excepting what was in a bottle which a cousin brought from California, until I was a grown man. This covers my early youth in Donegal and the later period in prohibition Kansas.

But I recall a barrel in one of the vaulted cellars which I was told contained dandelion wine, but I doubt that any of it was ever used for years. Certainly not a single case of drunkenness among these people ever came to my notice. And what I have said of wine applied even more decidedly to beer and liquors, none of which did I ever see, or hear of, being used.

The rooms in the upper part of the house were of less interest since little was done there but sleep. There was the traditional parlor which was seldom entered except on special occasions among which would be reckoned the visits of daughter's beaux. In the bedrooms were the substantial bed-steads previously referred to. These were made to last for generations and I am sure that few that were made were discarded because of disability. They are still in use in nearly every old farm house and many were carried along when the family moved, as when we carried ours along to Kansas.

It may be somewhat tedious to enumerate all the out-buildings which surrounded the mansion house, as the old deeds were wont to call the principal dwelling on a plantation.

First, to begin with a row behind the home but opening on the yard, there was the house which contained a harness room; where extra harness were stored, repaired and greased. This contained as the principal piece of furniture the harness maker's bench. On this at one end was attached the wooden clamp designed to hold the pieces of leather which were to be sewn. Sitting astride the bench and operating the clamp with a pedal the workman deftly joined the pieces with a strong seam using little more than a strong thread and an awl. The thread was waxed with a lump of bees wax and a hog bristle was secured to either end of the thread by the wax. When a hole had been made with the awl the two bristles were easily passed through it in opposite directions at the same time and then the two ends of the thread were drawn tight. The whole operation was simple but effective and marvellously fascinating to a small boy.

Under the same roof was a separate room opening to the outside. This contained a bed for the accommodation of tramps. Beggars, tramps and peddlers were almost daily visitors and often asked for a place to sleep. They generally preferred to sleep in the barn because a bed of hay is hard to beat. But the danger of setting fire to the barn ruled this out from the point of view of the farmer. Grandfather solved the problem neatly by devoting one room entirely to the knights of the road.

Peddlers were not always to be classed with tramps and certainly not with beggars. Some of them were respected merchants and the housewife was often glad to see them. Some carried wares of their own manufacture which were widely known and used and not to be had at any store. So the coming of Mr. Rebman, for example, was as welcome as that of any old friend. Mr. Rebman, by the way, had a family and home in Philadelphia and there he was our host when we visited the Centennial Exposition in 1876.

Next to the harness house came the wood yard and wood shed. Here the supply of wood for the stove was brought from the wooded hills at the back of the farm and here it was worked up into suitable size during the winter, or whenever farm work was slack.

Then came the press-house. This had for long been little more than a junk shop and the most interesting article of junk it contained was responsible for the name it bore. This was the cider press. There may also have been the remains of the old cider mill but that I do not recall. It was the enormous wooden screw of the cider press that always caught my eye. Imagine a beautifully cut wooden screw six or eight inches in diameter and six or eight feet long. This was mounted vertically in a block through which it could be turned downward by means of a long lever. On a platform beneath was placed a bottomless crib large enough to hold a barrel of crushed apples. With

the pressure of the descending screw the cider flowed out into a large trough.

Why so much ado about the little cider one might want? Aye, but there's the point. Cider was important in household economy,—very important. First of all several barrels of it must be set aside for the prolonged process of changing into vinegar and large quantities of vinegar were used both for pickling and for the daily culinary operations. Cider was also used sweet, and it could be kept sweet by boiling it and carefully storing it. In one of the wills on record the widow is to be provided with one barrel of boiled cider and one of "water cider" annually.

Another important use of cider was in the making of fruit butters. Apple butter, especially, was always on the table and it was made on a large scale. The great copper kettles with ten or twenty gallons of cider were placed on the fire and the cider boiled down until it began to thicken, then the sliced apples added and the boiling process kept up for hours. During this time the mess had to be constantly stirred to keep it from burning. As it thickened the boiling became explosive and blobs of the hot stuff would fly out and if it struck your hands or face it was just too bad. But one was prepared. The stirring was done with a specially constructed L-shaped contrivance. The long arm of the L, which might be six feet long, or longer, was the handle. The short arm of the L

rested on the bottom of the pot and was kept in constant motion.

For the sake of variety other fruit butters were made—peach, pear and grape especially.

These fruit butters could be kept without sealing, which was one reason why they were so much in use.

The great press may at one time have been used for pressing grapes in the making of wine. But in the days I am recalling no wine was made though grapes were grown on a small scale. They were used in other ways.

Now we come to the smoke-house, a small square stone building. Here, with a smoldering fire of hickory wood, the hams, sides of bacon, sausages, dried beef and other cuts of meat, were smoked for days. This house, it was the part of wisdom, to keep well locked.

Probably not one of a thousand of my possible readers would have recognized the contraption we come to next in our tour around the house. It was about six feet long and five feet high and four wide. It was supported on four legs composed of scantling crossed in the middle like a letter X. The upper part of the X's were connected by boards which thus formed a V-shaped trough which was closed at both ends. This trough would not hold water because at the bottom there was a slight slit. But it did hold ashes. Let's call it the lye hopper.

Since the only fuel used in the olden days was wood, the ashes were wood ashes. Also the best fire-wood was hard wood, oak and hickory along with some others. So also the ashes were hard wood ashes, which may be made to yield lye.

When cleaning out the ashes from stove or fireplace the ashes were always thrown into the lye hopper. When the hopper was well filled an occasional bucket of water was added if there had not been enough rain to saturate the ashes. The water slowly leached out the alkali and dripped out at the bottom into a vessel kept there constantly to catch the drip. This was the lye by means of which each family could and did manufacture all its soap.

Soap might be made at any time of the year as occasion demanded. The occasion was fixed by the waste fat on hand and the necessary supply of lye.

The fats used in making soap were chiefly what would otherwise have been waste. Fatty scraps of any kind left in working up beef, pork, mutton or fowl were "tried-out" and the fat preserved until enough had accumulated to make a kettle of soap. Most fat from the kitchen and table were also added to this.

For making soap the great iron kettle was placed on the fire, the fats and lye water thrown into it and the whole boiled until done. When the chemical process was complete the fire was drawn and the mix-

ture in the pot allowed to cool. The soap separated from a dark colored liquor and hardened on the top into a mass the consistency of cheese. This could now be cut into blocks with a knife, the blocks fished out and laid away in a dry place to dry out.

The character of soap made in this way would naturally depend on the skill and experience of the soap-maker but the process was not so difficult but that each family could make its own supply. One luxury Aunt Fannie allowed herself, that was a cake of Colgate Cashmere Bouquet soap which she always had for her toilet.

Now we come to the bake-house which was still in regular service. It stood at a spot at the rear of the house and remote from the kitchen. This seems rather surprising since it was used regularly once a week, but any point nearer the kitchen would have made it conspicuous and somewhat of an eyesore so I think we must credit our ancestors with some feeling of regard for the aesthetic.

The oven itself was always constructed on the same general plan but varying in size with the needs of the family. There was first a foundation, say five by seven feet built up of masonry to a height of four or five feet. The top of this was smoothly paved with brick—probably stone when there were no brick available. Over this there was built an oval arch—oval in ground plan, oval in arch from front to rear

and oval in arch from side to side. The height of the arch in the middle was not over eighteen inches or two feet. In front there was a cast iron door about twelve inches high and eighteen inches wide. At the farther end there was a flue.

When the oven was to be used a fire was built several hours beforehand *in the oven*. Since it was a large space long sticks of wood could be used as well as odds and ends of irregular shape and size. This fire gradually heated the walls and floor of the oven to such a degree that no further fire was necessary to do the baking. At this point all the coals and ashes were raked out of the oven at the door. Then the bread, pies, cakes, etc., were introduced by the method already described elsewhere.

Now we have gone around two sides of the house and have reached the front. Here there is nothing to obstruct the view of the garden, the broad level fields beyond and the York County hills in the distance, across the Susquehanna. But at our left there is another block of buildings and near by the big pump.

This pump is one of a kind which at one time was to be found on almost every German homestead and is a product of German handicraft. They were not made in factories. They were strictly hand made and the making of pumps was a trade and, as in other trades, the father trained his son in his art.

A collateral line of the John Gish tribe was a famliy of pumpmakers and some example of their workmanship is still in use and in perfect condition.

These pumps were made of a carefully selected tree trunk squared and slightly ornamented by the trimming of the angles. The pump was about twelve inches square in cross section and stood seven feet high above the platform with several feet below. Through the center of this log a hole, four or five inches in diameter was bored lengthwise. This was done with an enormous auger which was turned by hand.

The pump handle was a recurved wrought iron rod an inch in diameter and four and a half to five feet long. On the end of the handle there was a round or octagonal ball weighing perhaps two pounds. This was a counterpoise to balance the long and heavy plunger.

The water was delivered from a wooden spout which was shod with iron and held in place by an iron bracket. A hook on the end of this bracket served to hang the bucket on while it was being filled.

Both hands were needed to swing the handle and the friction of the hands kept the handle bright. I always think of these pump handles as the only article of wrought iron which was never polished but was always bright.

The plunger was a series of long wooden rods connected with each other by iron links. The pump

stock also consisted of a series of sections similar to the pump itself and extending to the bottom of the well. Near the bottom the plunger ended at two valves, one fixed the other attached to the end of the plunger and called the bucket. Both valves were of leather, stiffened with wooden blocks and opening and closing with a motion like that of a hinge. I was present on an occasion when this pump was hoisted from the well to clean or repair and thus had opportunity to learn its anatomy.

Close by the pump was the door to the summer house to which most of the household activities were transferred during the warmer period of the year. Here the dining room was separate from the kitchen. This kitchen had also been provided with a great fireplace and oven.

There was also under the same roof a series of rooms which constituted the cottage to which grandfather retired when he gave over the farm to Uncle Henry.

Before this there was a time when Uncle Henry lived in the house down by the spring which had been built for Susanna, the widow of Abraham. Then Grandfather, John I, lived in the "mansion house" and great grandfather lived in the cottage.

The cottage also had its summerhouse on the far side to the left. This was a small affair but also had its fireplace and oven.

Continuing on to the left and so toward the barn,

and under the same roof with the second summer house, was the shop. This, for me, was the best of all. Here I tinkered many an hour away with all sorts of tools. And here I wish to pay tribute to a wise and generous man—Uncle Henry sometimes came into the shop when I was monkeying with his tools. He never objected or reproved me. He often asked me what I was making and to my explanation made some quizzical reply, this with a twinkle in his eye and he was gone.

This shop contained an assortment of tools for working wood and iron, a small forge included. In my day they were used only for making repairs but earlier generations had their hobbies, skills in making this or that article of utility for house use or for barter. In this particular family it was basket making and some examples of their art are still preserved. I have one of the type called a peach basket. It is made of vertical strips of hickory fastened to a round wooden bottom and flaring out to a larger diameter at the top. At the top and half way down the vertical strips are held together by hoops, also of hickory. Small handmade nails are used to fasten the parts together. Willow baskets of many kinds were made. For farm use as for gathering potatoes or apples a rough willow basket made to hold a bushel was used. These were made of willow withes with the bark left on.

A basket of peculiar construction was used in bread making. After the loaves were formed and kneaded for the last time they were placed in these baskets to raise. The baskets were made of rye straw and thin strips of hickory. The straw was twisted into an endless rope, about the diameter of one's little finger. This rope was then coiled spirally from the center of the bottom to the edge of the top. These coils were held in place by the bands of hickory which ran radially from the center of the bottom out and up to the finish and were threaded in and out alternately around the coils of the straw. I never saw these baskets used in bread making but they were used for many other purposes; in the house for sowing baskets, in the stable for measuring out feed, etc.

THE BARN

The barn was not one of the largest but it was built in the conventional bank barn style and a description of its various features will serve to make clear the manner of farm life as it was carried on for over two hundred years and still is, in many respects.

A bank barn is a barn built against a bank or one which has had a bank built against the rear so as to form a ramp by which the second story may be entered. Since, in this case, the barn was built on a slope the ground at the rear was on a level with the second story entrance.

Another characteristic of these barns is the projection in front of the second story over the first by about six feet. This forms a shelter over the entrances to the stable and feeding entries and is the normal passage way from one stable to another.

The foundation of this barn measures thirty-nine by one hundred and fifteen feet on the ground plan and the walls are entirely of stone up to the level of the second or main floor. The two ends of the barn are also of stone up to the roof, including the gables. All the remaining parts are of frame and weather-boarded.

All of the space within the foundation is occupied by stables and feeding entries, excepting a large root-cellar at the rear. The stables are arranged in pairs with a feeding entry between to serve the two stables. Each stable and each entry has a separate door at the front under the "forebay" (probably a corruption of fore bau). The first two stables are given over to horses and will accommodate twelve. The remaining stable space, arranged in a similar way would take care of forty head of cattle. The root-cellar is accessible from the feeding entries. A stairway leads from one of the entries to the floor above and large openings in the floor, the hay holes, permit one to throw down the hay stored in the mows above. Large feed chests in the entries hold supplies of grain and milled feed and there are also large mixing troughs at hand.

All the doors to the stables and entries are double, i.e., there are upper and lower halves. The upper halves usually remain open except in severely cold weather. Thus the stables are as warm as stables can be without artificial heat. In fact, when they are filled to capacity and all openings closed, they might be too "close."

These farmers have been twitted with the high crime of taking better care of their stock than they do of their families. This gibe seemingly rests on the fact that the barns are larger than the homes. Without taking the trouble to argue the matter I can certainly say that if any of the wives of these cruel husbands have taken their cases to the divorce courts as so many of their pampered sisters have done I have not heard of it.

The superstructure of the barn rises about thirty-five feet above the second floor level. The space is almost entirely occupied by haymows and barn floors. There are two floors each eighteen by forty-five feet entered by the rear through great doors which open the full width of the floor and reach up twelve or fourteen feet to the eaves. Through these doors a load of hay or grain drawn by four horses may enter the barn. Then the horses may be unhooked and led around by the side of the load—and thus to the outside. The mows extend up to the roof of the barn and will store all the hay and grain produced by the

farm. The space above the barn floors may also be provided with a false floor and so furnish additional storage space.

When threshing time comes the thresher can be accomodated in the barn floor, and many other operations can be carried on there.

One use of the barn floors was, in the early days, before the invention of power threshing machines, that of a threshing floor. This means not simply as the stage on which the threshing process is carried out but as an instrument for threshing. Let me explain by describing the process as I have seen it—not only in Lancaster County but even in Kansas—believe it or not.

In modern Spain it is still possible to see the process of threshing all sorts of grain by beating it with a flail on the threshing floor, but in America I should never have seen it but for the fact that rye-straw had certain uses if the straw was kept in an orderly condition. The threshing machine breaks the stalks and inextricably tangles it. By means of the flail the grain may be beaten out without greatly disarranging the orderly parallel arrangement of the stalks of the grain as it is in the sheaf.

So if the farmer wished to preserve his rye straw for bands to tie up his corn shocks, or to line the crib of the cider press or for making baskets etc. he threshed the grain by neatly spreading it on the barn floor and then beating it with a flail.

These barn floors when swept clean and tidied and provided with benches and a small table have been the cathedrals in which these people gathered for many of their larger congregational meetings. Dancing and all other forms of revelry are absolutely taboo.

The flail consists of two pieces of wood tied together with a rawhide thong. One of the pieces is the handle of hickory about five feet long. The other is a thicker and shorter club. By giving the proper swing to the elastic handle the club may be made to fall on the grain with an even blow of its entire length.

When the grain has been thoroughly beaten from the heads the straw may be gathered up into sheaves again with little injury or disarrangement. The superiority of rye straw to other straws lies chiefly in its greater length.

Where these barns are found grain or hay are seldom seen stacked out of doors. Formerly the straw after it had been threshed, was stacked in the barn yard but now it is generally baled and kept under cover. These farmers have always been paragons of thrift and frugality but with changing times and changing values they have learned to conserve many things which they used to value lightly.

The barn also had its satellites, some built up against it others standing off at the far side of the yard which surrounded the barn. In front was the barn yard

proper which enclosed a space to which all the stables opened. This was closed off by a stone wall and several gates. In it were the watering trough, the feed rack and a cistern for catching the liquid which drained from the manure. At one time this liquid was hauled in tanks to the fields as fertilizer but that practice was abandoned.

I had almost overlooked one of the most important functions of the barn yard—that of the storage of the manure. The stables were cleaned weekly and the litter piled up in the barn yard. From here it was hauled out and spread on the fields before plowing. This is a form of fertilizer which is not equaled in value by any chemical fertilizer and the success of these farmers in keeping up the fertility of the soil is chiefly the result of their farming routine which provides an abundance of manure fertilizer.

The feed rack was a V shaped structure large enough to hold half a ton of hay, straw or fodder and was connected above by a covered gangway by which it could be filled from the barn floor.

At the rear of the barn, beyond the second barn floor to which however it was connected, was the horse-power shed. This, as its name implies, sheltered the horse-power, a contrivance which antedated the steam engine and the gas engine but served the same purpose. Four horses walking in a circle delivered power to a bandwheel which was so placed that a belt

could be carried to the barn floor and thus drive the threshing machine, and sometimes other machinery.

There were also two or three other sheds which served as shelter to vehicles and farming implements.

The outer circle of satellites was made up of chicken houses, other tool sheds, the corn crib which also had a floor, i.e., a space between two cribs upon which a team and wagon could be driven.

Then lastly there were the pig pens.

The large tobacco barns which are so conspicuous on many farms to-day do not belong to the era with which we are chiefly concerned. So also the silo which is now common is a modern addition wherever it may occur.

Beyond the buildings on several sides were the orchards. There were old orchards with decrepit trees, and young orchards. Apple, peach and pear orchards and cherry trees were all about.

Not far behind the house there is a small stream. Here there was an ice pond and nearby the ice house. Beyond in the meadow at a later date there was a series of fish ponds.

EXPERT FARMING

It has been said and oft repeated that the German farmer had a knack of selecting fertile land—a sort of sixth sense; that he followed the outcropping of the limestone or, that he recognized fertile land by

the character of the forest which covered it. All of which is probably true but it is only a small part of the truth. It is just as certain that he passed by lots of limestone and at the same time spilled over onto sand, shale and red clay.

Neither the soil nor the climate of Lancaster County are of a very superior type. The soil is rather thin and if it had been farmed by the methods quite common elsewhere it would have been ruined within ten years. The credit for the extraordinary condition of this farming country should go to the intelligence, devotion and industry of the farmer and nowhere else.

After writing the last paragraph I picked up a daily paper and read in it the report of an address by an expert on this subject in which a somewhat similar opinion is expressed. But first let me quote from the journal of Anne Royal of what she saw as she traveled through Pennsylvania in 1829:

"The beauty of Pennsylvania appears just to burst upon the traveler as he proceeds to Lancaster from Reading, and becomes more beautiful every mile of the distance. Two things suggested themselves to me as I drove over this fertile state, viz. that neither the inhabitants themselves, nor the inhabitants of other states, have any idea of the superiority of Pennsylvania over other states, it being almost out of the common routine of fashionable tours, and no writer

has, or perhaps can, do justice to Pennsylvania. . . . Lancaster is the largest inland town in the United States, and is surrounded by a large unbroken body of the richest land in Pennsylvania, or any other of the Atlantic states."

Anne Royal did not pretend to have an expert knowledge of soils. She formed her opinion on the appearance of the farms.

Now in the address just referred to as reported by the press Dr. O. E. Baker, senior economist of the United States Department of Agriculture, said: "The farmers of the mid-west should imitate the frugality, family life and philosophy of Lancaster County's rural sections if they want to enjoy the same prosperity. . . . It's not your fertile soil which has kept Lancaster County prosperous. Iowa has soil which is just as fertile. It's the philosophy of your rural folk which has put you where you are. There is a continuity of family proprietorship—generation after generation of the same family on the land," etc.

Long before America was settled the farmers of the middle Rhineland were recognized as being the best in Germany and it was said that:

Wo der Pflug durch goldene Auen geht da schlagt auch du Mennonit sein Bethaus auf.

(There where the plow is drawn through fertile fields the Mennonite erects his house of prayer.)

The old Abraham Gish homestead has been under

cultivation continuously for over one hundred and fifty years without the least sign of deterioration. On this point it was sufficient to see the corn in the crib. It was not the quantity of it but the quality that bore witness to the vigor of the soil. But figures may be more convincing so I asked the present owner for the evidence in pounds and bushels. He has been on the farm twenty-seven years, long enough to know what his land can do.

Of corn he raises from seventy-five to ninety bushels per acre.

Of wheat he gets as high as forty-two bushels per acre.

Of tobacco he strips over two thousand pounds of wrappers per acre, plus some of the lower grade.

At the same time his twenty cows bring in a monthly income of two hundred dollars from the sale of milk and he now has nineteen fat young steers ready for the market.

Besides, the produce which is disposed of for cash, all these farms yield a pretty pin-money from the sale of chicken, eggs, butter, cheese, vegetables and fruits, while little goes out for the table.

The yield of this farm is varied, which is the case with these Lancaster County farms generally. There are also some specialists as e.g. celery on one farm and eggs on another. One farm not far away produces eleven thousand eggs a day. But it is the diversified

farming which these people knew before they came to Pennsylvania and which they modified to suit conditions, that is still typical of this region and excelled nowhere else.

The German farmer is conservative but he is not slow to take on useful inventions or improved methods when such are offered. Some of these changes I have witnessed on the old homestead. Those level fields are well adapted for the use of machinery, though too small for some kinds. I remember at harvest time the harvest men at work with their cradles swinging along in a diagonal row one after the other across the field. And then a year later, in that same field a McCormick self-dropper with its awkward rakes swinging around and laying the grain down on the platform attached to the sickle bar, and then one of them stripping the little heap off on the ground. After the reaper came the men with their wooden rakes by which they gathered up the loose pile of grain and bound it just as they used to do when following the cradles.

Then there was a shift of scene to Kansas. Here the "header" had been in use for some time but to the new settlers from Pennsylvania the method was wasteful of straw. Just at this time the self binder came in and, wonder of wonders, by an ingenious mechanical device a string band was passed around the sheaf and tied in a knot. But the wonderful process soon lost its romance for I was not big enough to do more

than follow the binder and carry the sheaves into piles to be shocked.

This work was not so hard but the sharp stubble cut our bare legs and there was nothing we could do about it. Shoes helped little and stockings not at all. The stubble went right through.

But then came another improvement which relieved us boys a lot. That was the bundle carrier which carried the bundles until the man on the seat pulled a lever and dropped them on a pile.

MODERN FARMING

And so with many other devices which made for progress. From the window where I sit as I write I can look out at night and see the many lights at each farmstead making it look like a village. Beside the electric lights in every room in the house there are lights all through the barn and stables. I go out with my host at night to the brooder house where he has three hundred chicks. By all the laws of nature they should all be asleep but when the light is turned on they are ready to feed and are thus induced to take on an extra meal and grow by an extra increment.

Then too here we have an electric pump which gives us running water for bath rooms and kitchen. There is telephone and radio and while the mistress of the house is busy about her household duties she is listening to excellent music or hearing the morning broadcast of the news.

Then, alas, the old fashioned mill is no more. It is not the loss of the romance of the mill wheel that gives me pain; my ancestors were a line of millers down to the time of my father. Now the mill comes to the farm. As I arrived on this place there was an unfamiliar hum coming from the barn floor. This I learned was a peripatetic mill mounted on a truck, which came in answer to a phone call and ground your grist.

On the homestead in Donegal they have one of those mills all their own. That is why they tore away the old horsepower shed and also relegated the steam engine that followed into the limbo of forgotten things.

Among other new fangled ideas which Uncle Henry adopted was tar-macadam. He put down a network of walks about the yard connecting all those outbuildings with the main home, and that was away back in the 1870's. Now after sixty years some of that tar-macadam is still in place.

The Pennsylvania German knows a good thing when he sees it and he has also often led the way in improving methods, processes and machinery. A long list might be compiled of cases in which the German was "first." For this, however, I shall refer the reader to A. B. Foust's "The German Element, etc." But I shall tell about a striking case which has recently come to my attention.

On the old Nolt farm south of Salunga there is an excellent example of the better class of farm house. It was built more than a hundred years ago. Not long since the representative of a large industrial concern appeared here and proposed to the owner of the farm to modernize the house by insulating the floors with rock wool.

"My friend you are a hundred years too late" says Mr. Farmer. "How so" says the agent. "Come along and I'll show you" says Mr. Farmer.

So he led him to the basement and showed him, where the ceiling had recently been opened to install a heating system, that the floors had been insulated at the time that the house was built.

The method is interesting. A false floor had been set in between the joists so as to provide a space of about four or five inches beneath the floor boards above. This space was filled with a compost of mud and rye straw. When this was dry it formed an excellent nonconducting material which also had the property of making the structure "slow burning."

Whether this method of insulating was ever in common use I cannot say but I know of at least one other case and that in a house which was built over two hundred years ago, i.e. a hundred years before the Nolt house was built. This was in the old Hans Herr home at Willow Street.

JACOB

An old biographical history of Lancaster County says of the Gish family that three brothers came over from Germany in 1785. One settled in Donegal, one died childless in the northern part of the county and one moved to Virginia. This was written more than a hundred years after the landing of Matthias and consequently contains some truth and more error. The three daughters of Matthias are forgotten, so is John. David is either forgotten or confused with Christian, as both were involved in the migration to Virginia.

The one who "died childless" was Jacob. He died in 1770, a young man of about twenty-three. In his will his place of residence is given as Rapho Township, the boundary of which lay within a mile of the old homestead. The names which appear on his account book show that his shop was not far away to the south of White Oak. He was master of his shop as appears from the fact that he owned his tools and a supply of iron. He was prospering. Among his personal effects there was a horse with saddle and bridle. Christian, his brother, and Christian Lower each owed him forty pounds. These were loans apparently. His books showed accounts inventoried at above twenty-seven pounds. His total effects were appraised at one hundred and sixty-seven pounds.

By his will he gives one English shilling to each of

his brothers and sisters whom he names as follows: Christian, Anna (wife of Peter Crazer), John, "Catrina" (wife of Jacob Baylor), Abraham, David and sister "Merey." The remainder of his estate he leaves to his "dearly beloved mother Catarina." Abraham Gish and John Gish (his brothers) of Mount Joy Township he names his executors. The will was signed on August 12, 1770.

Jacob was evidently a dearly beloved brother, since all of his brothers and sisters, except Christian whose family was small, named a son for this brother who had died. Furthermore, the name has persisted in many of the branches of the Gish family to the present day.

Among Jacob's patrons occur the following whose family names were common in the clan: John Heege, Jacob, Benjamin and John Mishey, Philip and Nicholas Bretz, Henry Sr. and Henry Jr. Lesher, Andrew Hook, Ulrich, Daniel and Henry Longenecker, Sebastian Sydensticker, Samuel Brandt, John, Daniel and Peter Lehman.

DAVID AND "FRENEY"

David was the youngest son of Matthias. From the statement of Christian in his report as administrator of the estate, David would have been born somewhere between 1750–1756. The information concerning him is rather meagre but as a young man

he was living in Lebanon Township—probably with Christian—and later he bought a farm in Dauphin County on the Conewago Creek. This creek marks the boundary between Dauphin County and Donegal and the farm lay about four miles north of the Abraham Gish place in Donegal.

By the census of 1791 David is credited with having in his home besides himself one male who was under the age of sixteen. In 1802 David and Freney sell the farm and thenceforth leave no further record.

However, about the time that Christian appears in Botetourt County, Virginia, three other Gish families also appear in the same vicinity. These are Jacob, Abraham and David. These three I assume to have been the sons of David of Dauphin County. They all left some kind of record in Franklin County where they apparently lived among other members of the clan and not far from Christian and his sons.

Jacob was enrolled in the militia of Franklin County, a contract executed by Abraham and the will of Adam Small stating that his daughter Mary was the wife of David are some of the records which locate these three families in Franklin County at the time of the exodus to Virginia.

There is no positive evidence that David the elder lived in Virginia but there was a certain David buying land in Botetourt County at a time when David the younger was not yet twenty-one years of age.

From these and sundry other facts I am assuming provisionally that when David and Freney sold their Dauphin County farm they also moved to Virginia and that the two Davids are both on record there without any means of distinguishing them.

(Among the descendants of David there is a tradition which does not fit this conclusion but there is no documentary or other concrete evidence in support of any other view.)

It will have been observed that in naming their children, all of Matthias' sons and daughters used almost exclusively the names of the uncles and aunts, with the result, that the same names occur over and over again among the cousins. This criterion in itself is almost a certain indication that the Jacob, Abraham and David here referred to were the grandsons of Matthias and therefore the sons of David. The list of their children as given in the appended genealogical outline may here be referred to.

Christian sold some of his original tract to Abraham and Jacob. This was in the vicinity of the present villages of Amsterdam and Daleville. David bought several tracts on Glade creek, east of Roanoke and there is some evidence that he made his first purchase before Christian went to Virginia.

Jacob, Abraham and David all had large families and although probably more than half of their children joined in the westward movement there were

many left behind and these have established in Roanoke and vicinity what is probably the densest Gish population to be found anywhere.

This appears in a striking manner if one inspects the land records at Fincastle and Salem. The number of transfers recorded seems to be much greater than those in the Recorder's office at Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. This difference should be discounted to some degree because in Lancaster deeds have not always been recorded and also because land in Lancaster County has probably not changed hands as frequently.

It is quite probable that David and Freney had other children of whom we have no record. It may turn out that one or two families that are known but whose connections have not been established, belong here.

ANNA MARIA AND JOHN

Anna Maria was the youngest child of Matthias Gish. She was born October 25, 1757. This is the only birth record of this family that has been preserved. The tombstone in the old Brinser family grave yard is well weathered but the inscription is quite legible. The date is important in that it marks a serious crisis in the life of Katharine.

The personal property of Matthias was appraised during the month of November following the birth

of Anna Maria—indicating that Matthias had recently died.

Anna Maria married John Brinser, the son of the immigrant Christian Brinser who came from Baden in 1749.

Anna Maria and her husband lived on a tract of land which John secured by patent of the Penns. This land adjoined the farm on which David was living, in Dauphin County. In this vicinity there developed a Brinser settlement—at first made up of the four sons of Anna Maria. She also had two daughters. Briefly, the children were

1. Anna, born in 1780. Married Johannes Wilhelm Berg; died 1857.
2. John, born in 1782. Married Polly Carper; died 1875.
3. Abraham, born 1786, died 1843.
4. Jacob, born 1792, died 1857.
5. Matthias, born 1795, died 1889, aged ninety-four.
6. Catharine married a Mr. Livingston and they moved to Virginia.

The average age of the four sons was nearly eighty-two years, an example of long lived families which occur frequently in the history of the Gish families.

This family showed unusual ability in various directions including for example, an inventor and a Rear Admiral of the Navy. There have been many

Admirals but the inventor interests me most. This was John (the second). According to the family tradition he was the "inventor" and the first manufacturer of the world-known grain cradle. The fingers in the first cradles were made from wood that was naturally bent. The snathes were made from sassafras wood. "The Brinser cradles are used in Europe to this day as well as in the United States. Abraham, Jacob and John the third continued the work. The factory is now in Richmond, Virginia, moved there from Middletown, Pennsylvania, by a son of John the third, Eli Brinser, and lately conducted by his two sons, Harry D., and Oscar D., who recently passed on."

Jacob was a farmer and also a brick and tile maker. These tiles were for roofing and also were an original device.

Matthias was a farmer, teacher, preacher, and brick and tile maker.

It was this Matthias who, as a member of the Brethren in Christ became bishop and was widely known as an effective preacher. This preaching drew large congregations which it was difficult to accommodate in the private houses and barns, where, until then, all the meetings of the Brethren had been held. This sect, like some others had no paid ministry and were fundamentally opposed to building churches. Matthias proposed to build a meeting house but that

did not meet with the sanction of the Brethren. This difference finally resulted in a schism and Matthias became the leader of the sect known as "United Zions Children" or sometimes called the Brinser Brethren.

Matthias Brinser continued to preach after he had passed his ninetieth year and I recall hearing his name frequently. He was referred to simply as "Der alt Matteis" and it was through his name that I made connection subconsciously, with the older Matthias—Matthias Gish.

Matthias Brinser married Catharine Heisey and had a family of seven daughters and two sons.

One of these sons, Daniel, never married. The other was Bishop Solomon married to Elizabeth Shearer. They had eleven children.

The daughters of Matthias were Nancy Groff, Mary Wolgemuth, Susan Martin, Elizabeth Metzger, Catharine Kieffer, Lydia Kieffer, Fannie Brinser (married a Brinser).

THE SECTARIANS

It will be pertinent to introduce here a brief statement of the religious tenets and other significant characteristics of the sects with which the Gishes, during the earlier years of their American history are mainly related, and to a very large extent still adhere to the present day. For this I can do no better than quote the very fair and brief statement found in

Robert Proud's History of Pennsylvania. The exact title of this volume is "The General State of Pennsylvania between the years 1760 and 1770." As the title indicates it applies very closely to the period with which we are dealing and although some changes have occurred in the meantime, for our purpose the statement of all significant facts may be regarded as accurate enough to apply in a general way to the present time.

"OF THE MENNONISTS"

"The mennonifts of Pennfylvania take their name from Menno Simon, of the Netherlands, one of the leaders of that fociety, or fect, of the Baptifts, in the fixteenth century; who took their rife in Germany soon after, or about, the time of the Reformation. But, it if faid, they themfelves derive the origin of their religious profeffion and practice from that of the Chriftian Church, in Theffalonia, in the time of the Apoftles, &c.

"Among the articles of their faith, in which they appear to be very rigid, ufing great plainnefs in fpeech and drefs, are, in fubftance, the following, *viz.*

"1. *Of God.* They confefs one only God, Father, Son and Holy Ghoft.

"2. *Of Bapfifm.* They confefs *baptifm* into faith; but no *infant baptifm.*

"3. They confefs an *eucharift,* to be kept with

common bread and wine, in remembrance of the fufferings and death of *Chrift*.

"4. *Of Marriage*. They confefs a *wedlock*, of two believing perfons; and *no external marriage ceremony*, by punifhment of excommunication, &c.

"5. *Of taking Oaths*. They confefs that no *Chriftian* may take an *oath;* or, in his evidence go beyond *yea* and *nay*, though he have the truth on his fide; but muft rather chufe to die.

"6. *Of bearing Arms*. No *Chriftian* muft, in any wife, withftand with arms, or take the fword, &c.

"They fay their church has always from the beginning (though under almoft continual oppreffion and perfecution) infifted on the above confeffion, with many other articles, even, from the time of the Apoftles; from which the violence of perfecution and death, which at different times they endured, never could compel them to depart; inftancing the ten perfecutions, till 310 years after *Chift;* and afterwards till the year 1210, &c. when great numbers of them fuffered death, chiefly in *Europe*, for not admitting *infant baptifm;* but only a *baptifm* into their faith, in their own mode, and likewife for refufing to take an *oath* and *bear arms;* and for adhering to other articles of their faith; for which they fuffered fuch heavy perfecutions, that they were reduced to a fmall number, till the time of the *reformation*, when, from the year 1520 to 1530, they began to flourifh again,

to the no fmall mortification of the *Romifh clergy;* who gave them the name of *Anabaptifts;* and ufed their endeavours, firft, by perfuafiion, to draw them over, and then by a terrible perfecution, throughout all the emperor's dominions, by banifhments, prifons, torture, and death, in various modes; all which they encountered, and fuffered with inflexible fortitude, rather than depart from their tenets. That this perfecution began in 1524, and continued about one hundred years. Of which they give many cruel inftances, particularly in *Auftria,* at *Hemborn,* and in the *Palatinate* about *Alfom;* where, in the year 1529, feveral hundreds of them were, in a fhort time, by the count *Palatine,* executed by *fire* and *fword.* And after this they fuffered in *Switzerland;* particularly at *Inrich* and *Bern;* where feveral of their teachers were beheaded; of whom one *Haflebacker* is mentioned thus to have fuffered at the latter place; and many of them are faid to have been ftarved to death by hunger.

"Though thefe *Mennonifts* of *Pennfylvania* appear to be a fpecies or fect, of thofe who went under the general name of *Baptifts,* or *Anabaptifts* formerly in *Germany* and the *Netherlands,* yet, in both their writings and practice, they feem highly to difapprove or reprobate and condemn, the wild actions and extravagances, done at *Munfter,* &c. by thefe people in 1533, in oppofition to the magiftracy and govern-

ment; in confequence of which many thoufands of perfons loft their lives, in different parts of *Germany*.

"They moreover fay, that in the feventeenth century, they fuffered fevere perfecution in *Switzerland*, and fome other places; and that in the year 1670, fome of their fociety were chained together, and fent to the gallies, on account of their religion; others fhipped and banifhed their country, being branded with the mark of a *bear* (the arms of the *canton*): that, in the year 1710, a barge, full of thefe prifoners, was carried down the *Rhine*, to be tranfported beyond the fea; but when they came to *Holland*, the government of that republic declared, they would have no fuch prifoners in their country; and they fet them all at liberty.

"Many of thefe people, who were difperfed in divers parts of the *German* provinces, efpecially in the *Palatinate*, and places adjacent, having met together, entered into conditions, and, by paying a great tribute, they obtained an exemption from *taking oaths*, from bearing *arms*, and from having their *children baptifed;* and gained the liberty of upholding *public worfhip*, in their own way: but notwithftanding this, they were grofsly impofed upon and abufed, for the exercife of their confciences; being, in time of war, obliged to have their houfes filled with wicked crews of foldiers, and to endure many other grievances and diftreffes. Thefe things caufed their

looking out for another country; and, in time, a way was opened for their removal to *Pennfylvania.*

"*William Penn,* both in perfon and writing, publifhed in *Germany,* firft gave them information that there was liberty of confcience in *Pennfylvania;* and that every one might live there without moleftation. Some of them about the year 1698, others in 1706, 1709 and 1711, partly for confcience fake, and partly for their temporal intereft, removed thither; where they fay, they found their expectation fully anfwered, enjoying liberty of confcience, according to their defire, with the benefits of a plentiful country. With this they acquainted their friends in *Germany;* in confequence of which many of them, in the year 1717, &c. removed to *Pennfylvania.*

"The *Mennonifts* are fettled chiefly near *Lancafter,* and in fome parts of the neighbouring counties. They are a fober, induftrious people, of good economy, found morals, and very ufeful members of the general community; and are fuppofed to confift of feveral thoufand perfons, within the province.* Their articles of faith, refpecting *oaths* and *war,* are founded on the fame principles, as thofe of the

* Morgan Edwards, in his account before mentioned, ranks the *Mennonifts* among the Baptifts of *Pennfylvania:* he fays, they have there 42 meeting houfes, and confift of 4050 perfons; that they derive their name from that of *Menno Simon,* a native of *Witmars,* born in 1505; that they have, in this province, and fome other places, deviated from the practice of *Menno,* in the mode of their *baptifm,* by declining that of *dipping,* &c.

Quakers, in thefe points, *viz.* the plain and abfolute prohibition thereof, as underftood by them, in the *New Teftament*.

OF THE DUNKARDS, OR DUMPLERS

"Thofe people, in *Pennfylvania*, called *Dunkards*, *Tunkers*, or *Dumplers*, are another fpecies of *German Baptifts*. They are fingular in fome of their opinions and cuftoms; and perhaps more fo in their manner of living, and perfonal appearance, than any others of that name in the province, particularly thofe who refide at a place, called by them, *Ephrata*, in *Lancafter* county.

"They alfo hold it not becoming a follower of *Jefus Chrift* to *bear arms*, or *fight;* becaufe, fay they, their true mafter has forbid his difciples to *refift evil;* and becaufe he alfo told them, *not to fwear at all*, they will by no means *take an oath;* but adhere clofe to his advice, in the affirmation of *yea* and *nay*.

"As to their origin, they allow of no other, than that, which was made by *Jefus* himfelf, when he was baptifed by *John* in *Jordan*. They have a great eſteem for the *New Teftament*, valuing it higher than the other books; and when they are afked about the articles of their faith, they fay, they know of no others but what are contained in this book; and therefore can give none.

"The rife, or collection of their prefent fociety they feem to date about the year 1705; many of them

were educated among the *German Calvinifts*, but left them, and, on account of their religious way of thinking and practice, feveral being banifhed from their homes, and otherwife perfecuted, they reforted to *Swarzenan*, in the county of *Witgenfteen* and *Creyfield*, in the dutchy of *Cleves*, belonging to the king of *Pruffia;* where they had liberty of *meeting*, without being difturbed. To thefe places they collected from feveral parts; as from *Switzerland*, *Strafburg*, the *Palatinate*, *Silefia*, &c,

"They agreed on their exterior form of religion at *Swarzenan* aforefaid; the manner of their *baptifm* of *immerfion*, or *plunging* into water (from whence the name *Dumpler*, in their language) inftead of the vulgar method of *fprinkling*, was eftablifhed among them; as being not only more confiftent with that, which *Chrift* himself fuffered from *John* the *Baptift*, but alfo more agreeable to the practice of many of the primitive *Chriftians*.

"They hold what is called the *Eucharift*, in commemoration of the fufferings of *Chrift*, at night, as, they fay, *Chrift* himfelf kept it; *wafhing*, at the fame time *one another's feet*, agreeable to his example and command. They meet together to worfhip on the firft day of the week, in confidence of his promife, who faid, '*Where two or three are gathered together, in my name, there am I in the midft of them:*' but thofe at *Ephrata* keep the feventh day of the week,

for *fabbath:* they profefs a *fpiritual worfhip;* and they have been remarkable, at the place laft mentioned, for their fine finging at their devotion. They fay, they have fuffered great perfecution in *Europe;* of which they give particular accounts; and as appears in a maunfcript, from which part of this account of them is taken.

"They removed from the places before mentioned into *Pennfylvania,* chiefly between the years 1718 and 1734; a few of them ftill remaining at *Creyfield* in *Friezland.*

"They are a quiet, inoffenfive people, not numerous,* and feemingly, at prefent, on the decline, efpecially at *Ephrata* before mentioned; where they have a kind of a *monaftry,* about fifteen miles diftant from *Lancafter,* and fixty miles weft north weft from *Philadelphia.*

"Here more particularly they drefs in a kind of uniform, confifting of a triangular, or round, white, and fometimes grey cloth, or linen cap, on the head, a little fimilar to a bonnet; with a loofe garment of the fame ftuff and colour, hanging over them; in imitation of the fafhion of the eaftern *Chriftians* formerly. They wear their beards, and have a folemn fteady pace, when they walk, keeping right forward

* *Morgan Edwards* aforefaid, ranks thefe people alfo among the *Baptifts* of *Pennfylvania;* and makes them confift of 419 families, 2095 jerfons, at 5 to a family; and 4 meeting houfes, in different parts of the province.

with their eyes fixed on the ground, and do not ufually turn to give an anfwer, when afked a queftion. Their burying place here they call *the Valley of Achor;* and here it has been their cuftom to live on a common ftock, compofed of the fruits of all their labours, and the gifts of fuch as join them. They eat no flefh, drink no wine, ufe no tobacco, nor fleep on beds, in this place, as other people do; and the men and women live in different apartments, or, in feparate large houfes, containing many diftinct apartments; and it has been their practice, for thofe of each houfe, to meet every two hours, both day and night, to join in prayers; but, it is faid, they have lately abated of this rigour.

"Their whole method in this place feems to be a kind of *monaftic life,* much according to its original fimplicity; and if any of them *marry,* after they come hither, fuch are not permitted to live longer here, but ftill remain members of the fociety; and, in general, another of their cuftoms is, to receive no intereft for money lent, on pain of excommunication, &c.

OF THE SWENCKFELDERS

"The people, who bear the name of *Swenckfelders,* in *Pennfylvania,* are fo called from *Caſpar Swenckfeld,* of *Offing;* who, at the time of the reformation, in the fixteenth century, was a teacher of note. He was born in *Silefia,* and of noble birth. The fect,

which he gathered, was from the beginning tolerated, under feveral of the *German* emperors, in their *archdukedom* of *Silefia*, efpecially the principalities of *Taur* and *Lignitz*, for about two hundred years fucceffively, and in feveral other places, though not without envy of the *Romifh clergy*, who inftigated fome of the inferior Magiftrates fo much to diftrefs them about the years 1590 and 1650, as to caufe what they thought a pretty fevere perfecution. After this they enjoyed peace till the reign of the emperor *Charles* the Sixth. But about the year 1725, through the inftigation of the clergy, they were again molefted; wherefore, defpairing of obtaining the continuation of their former tranquility, in that country, for which they had endeavoured in vain, moft of them, after frequent citations, appearing before the clergy, arefts and imprifonments, heavy fines and penalties, threats and menaces, taking away their children to catechife, and inftruct them in the *Roman Catholic* doctrine, conftituting *Roman Catholic* executors, for the widows, and guardians for orphans, and many other hard proceedings, which they endured, found themfelves obliged to leave their real eftates and habitations behind them, and emigrate to fome other country.

"They found a place of fhelter in *Upper Lufatia*, in *Saxony*, under the Senate of *Gorlitz:* as alfo unexpectedly under *Count Zinzindorf*, which they en-

joyed about eight years; after which this toleration was difcontinued.

"They then enquired for another place of fafety, under fome of the Proteftant princes of *Germany*, but upon confidering the great uncertainty of the long continuance of any toleration there, and having got intelligence of the province of *Pennfylvania*, and of the privileges there enjoyed, &c. they refolved to remove thither. Some of them came over in the year 1733, but the greateft part in 1734, and fome families afterwards."

Although the Mennonites derive their name from Menno Simon, who was born in 1492, their societies were in existence long before his time. And they were widely scattered in Europe. Only a small part came to colonial Pennsylvania. In more recent times some have come to America from Russia but they, also, were Germans who at some earlier but uncertain date had taken refuge in Russia to escape persecution at home.

The Dunkards were also organized in Germany but, it is said, all of them ultimately came to America.

But there were other denominations which are all more or less important from the point of view of numbers, which originated among the Pennsylvania Germans. Besides the United Brethren, may be noted the Evangelical Association which, like the United Brethren Church, also in many ways resembles the

Methodist Church. Another one of these denominations is the Church of God. It is generally classed with the Baptist Churches because of the method of baptizing but in other respects is like the Methodist.

The Gish families were directly concerned in the formation of two denominations. The River Brethren, or Brethren in Christ, originated in Donegal and, at the very beginning, they were joined by some of the Donegal Gishes. Ever since some Gish families have been prominent among them. The origin of the United Zion's Children has already been referred to.

All the Churches and sects which have been mentioned, excepting only those which were recognized established churches in Europe, originated in protest against the cold formalism of the orthodox churches; in a desire to get away from the doctrines, forms and ceremonies devised by man and return to the simple precepts of Jesus, the sermon on the mount, the unvarnished teachings of the Gospels.

STATISTICS

The relative numbers of these denominations are indicated by the following statistics which are, however, not up to date:

Mennonites	87,163
Moravians	37,000
Schwenkfelders	1,600

Church of the Brethren	158,240
Brethren in Christ	5,700
Evangelical	540,000
United Brethren	395,900
Lutherans	5,000,000
Reformed	600,000

PAST AND PRESENT

SOME CURIOUS PEOPLE

TO the outsider the German sectarian is apt to seem a curious object. For some reason, which I have not fathomed, the Quaker is romantic while his German counterpart is funny—stupid, slow, stubborn, fanatical etc. All of which rests on a religious basis which is not so funny that it can be lightly laughed away.

This matter of religion goes pretty deep into the foundations of human nature but I have sometimes thought that certain characteristics of these people rest on something deeper still. The various sects are known to-day by various names which, for the most part, they did not choose, but which were thrust upon them, like nicknames. The names Amish and Mennonite, for examples came from the names of men who were outstanding leaders and organizers but who were not the innovators or originators of some-

thing new. The sects they represented had long been in existence and the time and place of their origin reach back into the period of unrecorded history.

It may be that from the beginning of Apostolic time there were nonconformists—individuals who refused to be led or directed by others who professed to be vested by a special divine authority. Certainly there were at many times groups of such temper, who emerged from the obscurity of those early times and then again were lost sight of so far as recorded history goes. At any rate there was always throughout the Christian Era this fundamental concept which served as a bond for a certain type of mentality, viz., that the Gospels held all that was necessary to religious instruction, that they had behind them the authority of Jesus and that they were so clear and simple that anyone "though a fool" might not err therein. Moreover, there was also the clearly expressed warning that many who professed the religion of the Lord Jesus failed to keep His commandments but rather followed the commandments of men.

Now such a basic principle would naturally serve to attract individuals of a certain temperament irrespective of his antecedents. And also his children and grand-children might be inclined toward such a principle, or, failing this they would in time fall away. In other words, the individual sectarian might be likened to a particle in a whirlpool—the whirling is continuous but the particles come and go.

As against this conception might be suggested another—some process of natural selection by which through the centuries a type of character has been developed through the combined influences of persecution, teachings, and training, during the formative period of character development.

The most marked peculiarity of the "plain people" rests directly on the fact that they consider it imperative to follow the practice as well as the teaching of Jesus as far as that is possible. They have not invented a new style of dress. They simply refuse to adopt new styles. They dress as they did when they came from Germany and in Germany there had been no change of style (consciously) for generations. In Germany to-day, one may see, as the everyday costume of non-sectarians, the very type of clothing that these Pennsylvania Sectarians wear—both the men and women.

Changing styles in dress, the wearing of ornaments, jewelry, costly raiment, etc., are considered contrary to the practice and teaching of Jesus. Even the oft mentioned hooks and eyes of the Amish have a simple and logical basis in this same principle of simplicity in clothing. There was a time, and that not so long ago in this country, when fancy buttons were one of the principal ways of "putting on style." Even to-day this is common in some countries. What more natural than to eliminate such a source of temptation entirely.

Again, and resting on assumptions already made, a paid ministry is repugnant to the idea that religion is free and that each one (who can read) has free access to the Gospel.

Anyone, who has followed the devious history of the Church in Europe, should be able to appreciate how the Church building itself came to be regarded as the very symbol of Anti-Christ. But whatever they have thought of the Church in either its physical or its spiritual aspects, as sectarians, they were accustomed to meet in small groups in their homes or wherever else, confident in the promise that "wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name there I shall be with them, and that to bless."

Now I ask you other Christians of this, that, or the other "Church" aren't these funny people? "But," you say, "they are fundamentalists." Precisely. But you who pride yourselves on your liberal, advanced, religion have you any religion at all? Your leaders seem to be telling you of the church that you have lost whatever religion you ever had. Ask yourself what is your religion and then go back to the question "Who is peculiar?"

This morning I read in a daily Lancaster paper a report of the proceedings of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions for the year 1938. A total of $55,000 was contributed by the 13,000 members of the denomination in the Lancaster Mennonite Con-

ference, including some churches in adjoining counties, and was distributed for mission work in about twenty eastern cities and in foreign missions in India, Africa, South America and Europe. This item becomes all the more peculiar when it is remembered that the membership referred to is almost wholly rural—farmers, and the time is during the depression of 1938.

SOME CURIOUS FIGURES

Matthias Gish had seven children who married and raised families. The number of children in this second generation averaged considerably over seven per family. For the third generation the data are not complete but from the information available the average was still higher. Now if this sevenfold increase with each generation went on for ten generations the result would be the amazing number of 38,353,607. We are now approaching the tenth generation, some of the older lines may have passed it, while the younger branches are only in the eighth.

But where are the thirty-eight millions? The first and most obvious answer is that the ratio of seven was not kept up. The most marked drop in the number of children per family has been in the youngest generations. Up to the seventh and eighth generations families of ten to twelve were common. Eighteen children in one family is the maximum reported

and that in a generation still living. However, at present many families report only one, two or three children. Still, making all possible allowance for this decrease in the size of families, one is left in a puzzled state of mind. There must be something wrong somewhere.

Some years ago, on the basis of actual counts made in various places supplemented by some calculation, I arrived at a rough estimate that there were 25,000 of the descendants of Matthias Gish in this country to-day. Professor Gustaf Kisch not long since looked up the Kishes of Luxemburg and says he has met all of the "eighty souls" living in that State. By that I suppose he means men, women and children. Also, with less accurate information at hand I am led to believe that the number to be found in Birkenfeld would be of about the same magnitude.

When Matthias Gish left his homeland he must have left behind at least one kinsman bearing the name and now after two hundred years there are eighty souls (one hundred and sixty) while in America during the same period the one has become 25,000 (or is it 25,000,000?). When the present Transylvania Kisches left Germany they also must have left at least one behind to become the ancestor of the present eighty (or one hundred and sixty) after the lapse of four hundred years.

There is another way in which we may arrive at

some conclusion in regard to numbers. If we assume that on the average the number of male and female children is equal and that their descendants increase at the same ratio we have the following result:

Half the children of the first generation, the sons, will bear the father's name, the other half, the daughters, will not, after they are married. Of the grandchildren only one fourth will have the name of this ancestor. So also in the third generation this name will apply only to one eighth, and when we come to the tenth generation the proportion will be reduced to *one* in 1024 descendants.

If we apply this principle to the calculation of the living descendants of Matthias Gish we have a result which is probably more informative than any other available.

The mere fact that a certain individual has a certain name, is a clue to possible relationship to another individual bearing the same name, whereas those who are descended in a female line at any point have lost this means of identifying them. Consequently in any incomplete list of descendants of any ancestor, those who are descended through an unbroken male line are apt to be represented in greater proportion than the others.

In the mailing list of the Associated Gish Families of America in 1939 there were two hundred and fifty names of heads of families bearing the name Gish,

which means then that there should be over 250,000 families of the descendants of Matthias Gish, or, will be when the tenth generation has been reached. If we reckon it as the ninth generation the number would be 125,000 or as the eighth—62,500.

However it is probable that the number of Gish families is twice as great as the number of names on this mailing list, it may be five times as great.

Still another calculation might be made on the basis of an actual count of the Harshbarger-Gish families. This count was made over a generation ago by William Anderson, historian of the Harshbarger families. At that time there were over one thousand Harshbarger-Gish offspring known to him. This count represented only seven of more than 300 great-grandchildren of Matthias. The total must therefore have been about 43,000. Doubling this number for the increase of the last generation the result would be over 86,000. But this figure also must be regarded as very conservative because the data are incomplete.

THE SCATTERING OF THE TRIBES

By now it may be apparent that the Gishes have spread pretty widely over the country. It will be easier to grasp the extent of this, however, if one fixes his attention on some one branch or family. For this purpose I have selected one of the Beckner family

groups merely on the score of convenience. Mr. W. E. Beckner of Cincinnati some years ago collected the data and arranged them in such a way as to serve my purpose very readily.

Elizabeth Gish married John Beckner in 1814. They lived near Roanoke, Virginia, and remained there until after the birth of their eleventh, and last, child. The next year, 1834, they moved to the vicinity of LaPorte, Indiana. Here they established a new home and here Elizabeth remained until her death. John died on a visit to Virginia.

It was then from the LaPorte home that the Gish-Beckners set out to win the west and something of the rest of the world.

From the data at hand, ten years ago, which are not complete, I count one hundred and ninety-nine families. This includes those which had been extinguished by death but does not include the children still living with their parents. During the interval of the last ten or more years, of course, many new families have been set up.

Of Elizabeth's ten children who lived to maturity, one moved to Illinois, four to Iowa, two to Kansas, one to Nebraska, one to South Dakota and one to Oregon.

From these came the one hundred and ninety-nine families which are now distributed over twenty-three states, including Manitoba, as follows:

Kansas	42	families	in	18	counties,	cities	or towns
Iowa	35	"	"	14	"	"	"
South Dakota	29	"	"	9	"	"	"
Indiana	16	"	"	2	"	"	"
Colorado	14	"	"	4	"	"	"
California	10	"	"	5	"	"	"
Illinois	10	"	"	4	"	"	"
Oregon	9	"	"	5	"	"	"
Nebraska	8	"	"	3	"	"	"

The remaining twenty-six families are scattered through Oklahoma, Massachusetts, Texas, Florida, Arkansas, Wisconsin, Washington, Montana, Manitoba, Virginia, Michigan, Alabama, Idaho, Missouri.

Besides these we should consider two who died in France and four who served for a term as missionaries in Jamaica, Cape Town, Burma and the Society Islands of the South Seas, respectively.

Elizabeth Beckner was a great-granddaughter of Matthias Gish and she represents only one family of over three hundred of her generation, and her case seems to me to be fairly typical. Therefore in order to get a complete picture of the Gishes in America the above figures should be multiplied by three hundred. It should be remembered, however, that since the families often moved and settled in groups, especially in the earlier days, different branches of the family,

and under different names, might be found in the same locality.

Now if there were forty-two Beckner families in Kansas, the total Gish kin would be three hundred times forty-two which is 12,600. Absurd? I'm not so sure. In looking through my records I find that the various branches of the family are widely spread over the state and by using several methods of calculation I am led to the conclusion that there are thousands of the family in Kansas.

Now, recurring to a promise made in my introductory remarks, in regard to the nationality of the population of Kansas: In addition to the Gish kin, there were also many other members of the Gish clan. Then there were many other Pennsylvania Germans who were in no way connected with the Gish clan. Some of these went to Kansas before the Civil War. By chance I made the acquaintance of a dear old grandmother living in south Douglas County who saw her husband shot in cold blood while standing on his own door-step, by a group of Quantrell's raiders who were returning after the burning of Lawrence. She was a Rothrock and one of a clan from the eastern part of Pennsylvania.

It is true that the first settlers in eastern Kansas came from New England in large numbers.

But the Pennsylvania Germans were not the only Germans to settle in Kansas. I have already referred

to the fact that before 1880 large numbers of Germans newly arrived from Germany were taking up much of the best land in central Kansas.

Then there were the Russian Mennonites, so-called. These were in reality those German Mennonites who had fled to Russia long ago and were now once again in flight. In 1875 a contingent of these settled in Marion County, where they have since been at home.

Summing it all up, from the data which I have but which I cannot set forth here in detail I am led to believe that the guess that the population of Kansas is ninety per cent "Anglo Saxon" lacks very much of being even approximately correct.

GOOD CITIZENS

Another of the fundamental tenets of the sectarians was "Thou shalt not kill." For this curious doctrine they have suffered perhaps more than for anything else. For the sake of this principle they have again and again given up all their worldly goods and moved to the ends of the earth. Catharine the Great promised immunity from service in war to a number of German Mennonites who, relying on that promise, transported themselves and families into the depths of Russia. Then another Russian ruler refused to recognize the promises of Catharine and the victims of such fickle statesmanship moved again, into central Kansas, or, into the Canadian northwest. In

Switzerland some were condemned to slavery in Turkish galleys, others were condemned to death.

Much can be said against this doctrine of pacifism but always with some of the real experience of war there is a great upsurge of sympathy with this very doctrine.

One of the excuses used by the "Church" to wreak vengeance on the sectarians was their doctrine of Anabaptism, or wiedertauf. This doctrine asserted that the rite of baptism could be efficacious only when administered to persons of understanding. On this principle the Anabaptists maintained that a person who had been baptized in infancy had not in reality received the sacrament at all and should be baptized after giving evidence of an understanding of the significance of the rite.

The sectarian also came in conflict with the law when he refused to "swear." Here again he was in a dilemma. The gospel of Jesus said "thou shalt not swear" and the sectarian regarded that as superior to any other law. How very curious—eh, you churchmen?

Benjamin Franklin was one of the wisest men America has produced but he did not understand the Germans. He was alarmed at the great influx of foreigners and took up the idea, which was spread abroad, that the Germans were plotting to overthrow the government. However on several occasions he

learned something about them of which he could approve. He tells of the following incidents in his autobiography.

When Braddock arrived with his British troops to subdue the Indians and drive the French out of the Ohio valley he went into camp in Maryland and waited there for some means of transportation across the mountains and through the woods. He had tried in vain to get the necessary horses and wagons until, at Franklin's suggestion, he commissioned Franklin to secure one hundred and fifty wagons from the Germans of Lancaster and York Counties in Pennsylvania. The horses, wagons and drivers were readily furnished but Franklin seems to take much of the credit to himself because of the guile he used to bring about the response on the part of the guileless Germans.

In another instance Franklin tells of the difficulty in which the Quakers found themselves when the French and Indians were forcing a war on them, when one of the principle tenets of their religion was that they should not make war.

"Those embarrassments that the Quakers suffered from having established and published it as one of their principles that no kind of war was lawful, and which, being once published, they could not afterward, however they might change their minds, easily get rid of, reminds me of what I think a more prudent

conduct in another sect among us, that of the Dunkers. I was acquainted with one of its founders, Michael Weffare, soon after it appeared. He complained to me that they were grievously calumniated by the zealots of other persuasions, and charged with abominable principles and practices to which they were utter strangers. I told him this had always been the case with new sects, and that to put a stop to such abuse I imagined it might be well to publish the articles of their belief and the rules of their discipline. He said that it had been proposed among them, but not agreed to for this reason: 'When we were first drawn together as a society,' said he, 'it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines which were esteemed truths were errors, and that others which we had esteemed errors were real truths. From time to time He has been pleased to afford us further light, and our principles have been improving and our errors diminishing. Now we are not sure that we are arrived at the end of this progression and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge, and we fear that if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves as if bound and confined by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive further improvement, and our successors still more so, as, conceiving what their elders and founders had done to be something sacred—never to be departed from.'

"This modesty in a sect is perhaps a single instance in the history of mankind, every other sect supposing itself in possession of all truth, and that those who differ are so far in the wrong; . . ."

Here again, Franklin was not fully informed. The sectarians as a rule had formulated no creed. The Gospels were their creed and they wanted no other.

AMALGAMATION

The daughters of the Germans were not cloistered and, anyhow, Love laughs at barriers. So it was not strange that one of Matthias' grand-daughters married a Livingstone. In the next generation, through out-marriages the following names came to be linked with the Gishes: McNeill, Gordon, Hamilton, Scott, Campbell, Burns, Atwill, Caldhoun. Sounds like a roll call of the Scottish clans. This stage of the amalgamation process happened chiefly in Virginia, but everywhere, where there was free mingling with other nationals, the barriers were all down—all except one. That one still holds. "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers" still applies to those who are members of any of the sectarian denominations.

ADVENTURE

Surely a tale covering a period of more than two hundred years, with so many actors and with much of

the scene located on the frontier, cannot come to an end without some incidents of adventure. It would not seem to be true. Nevertheless the best we can do is to set the stage and let the reader, in imagination, supply the action.

Our gold-seeking kinsmen should have left us some thrilling accounts of their experiences but what little has been preserved is as tame as a Sunday-school story.

Dr. Jacob Gish, brother of Elizabeth Kemmerer, was a sailor and a temperance lecturer. Professor Albert Harding of Brookings, S. D., has the manuscript of a lecture which Dr. Jacob delivered in Cherry Valley, N. Y., sometime during the period when Texas was a republic. He sailed for California during the gold-rush period, going by way of Cape Horn. His grave is said to be at Sacramento.

David Gish of Roanoke, Virginia, actually brought home a quantity of gold. He sent this to Philadelphia to be minted and then hid it behind the stones, or bricks, of the chimney in his home. At the time of his near approach to death he seemed to try to say something which was afterward interpreted to have had reference to the gold. But he died without divulging its hiding place. Years later, in remodeling the home the gold was found by one of his descendants.

Daniel Gish of Kentucky went to California too but we have no further details of his adventure.

James Christopher Gish of Iowa went to California by way of Panama and one of his descendants is now living at El Monte.

ON THE PACIFIC COAST

John B. Beckner of Indiana at about this time took the trail to Oregon and permanently established the family there, near Salem.

The best account we have of the California venture refers to David Ellison Gish of Indiana. One of his descendants at San Jose has sent me the following which was written in 1888.

"David E. Gish, one of California's early pioneers, was born December 16, 1829, in Tippecanoe County, Indiana, within a mile and a half of the "Tippecanoe Battle-ground." He is the son of David H. and Susan Gish, who were Virginians by birth and of German descent.

"In 1827 David H. Gish, the father of our subject, with his family settled in South Bend, Indiana, and there David E. Gish was reared and educated. He was but nineteen years of age when in 1849 (February 20), he joined a party of thirty which started for California, with ox teams, on the overland route. Schuyler Colfax, late Vice-President of the United States, delivered a parting address to them. One fact, so unusual that it is worthy of historical mention, is given by Mr. Gish in these words: 'The only spirits on

the train were fifteen gallons of brandy provided for use in sickness. The party left Council Bluffs May 10, and arrived at Weaverville, three miles from the present city of Placerville, September 5, and the fifteen gallons of brandy was intact, having never been tapped.' The party started with seventy-two head of cattle, and brought through, in fair condition, seventy head.

"Mr. Gish devoted just one year and ten days to mining at different points, with varied success, and then visited Santa Clara County. Being charmed with its climate and soil, he determined to make it his permanent home. His first venture was the taking of a claim three miles west of Santa Clara, where he built a small house and dug a well.

"On the twenty-third of March, 1851, Mr. Gish was united in marriage with Mrs. Mary Jane Glover, formerly Miss Mary J. Lemon. He then established his present residence, which is located on the Gish road, between the Alviso and Milpitas roads, two miles north of San Jose.

"Mr. and Mrs. Gish have eight children living, viz., Mrs. Mary Josephine Hughes, of Humboldt County, California; David W., of San Jose; Aquilla E., who resides near Los Gatos; Ellison E., of Humboldt County; Thomas J., who lives near Fort Townsend, Washington Territory; Mrs. Emma J. Herrick, of Humboldt County; Joseph L., of San Jose; and Ida

May, at home. The first-born, Sarah E., died at the age of four years and five months, and George W., twin brother of Emma J., died at the age of five weeks.

"Mrs. Mary E. Gish (nee Lemon), the daughter of John and Elizabeth Lemon, was born in Boone County, Missouri, January 17, 1824. In 1844 she married Aquilla Glover, who was a native of Kentucky. They crossed the plains and mountains to this State in 1846, reaching Fort Sutter on the twenty-first of October. Mr. Glover was one of the first party who went to the rescue of the ill-fated Donner party in the winter following his arrival. Mr. and Mrs. Glover made their home in San Francisco, he being at work in the mines at Georgetown. He died, November 13, 1849, in his thirty-second year, from sickness caused by exposure in the mines.

"Mrs. Gish is one of the very few women now living who came to this sunny land while it was yet a Mexican Province, and remarkable indeed are the marvelous changes which she has witnessed in this beautiful valley. Her father died in Missouri, but her mother still lives, having made her home with Mrs. Gish since October, 1871. She is now eighty-seven years old, and yet retains her physical and mental vigor to a remarkable degree. The homestead upon which Mr. and Mrs. Gish have spent so many years contains fifty-one acres, of which thirty-six

acres are devoted to the growing of pears. The residence which Mr. Gish erected in 1854 was the first brick house built in the county outside of San Jose, and the first artesian well outside of San Jose was put down by him about 1853."

IN KANSAS

Several branches of the Gish families have left us brief accounts of life in Kansas during the early days, that is, during the eighteen fifties. One of them is about Jacob B. Beckner a brother of the John B. referred to above.

Jacob was married in Dane County, Wisconsin in 1847. In 1857, with his wife and five children he moved by covered wagon to southeastern Kansas near Pleasanton in Linn County. "Here he and his family experienced all the hardships and privations of a pioneer life. There was nothing in the valley but coyotes and grass—the old giant blue stem grass, so high a cow could hide in it. Before the drought of 1860 and 1861 there were plenty of fish in the streams, rabbits and prairie chickens, and a few wild turkeys and deer, but the drought cut off even these sources of sustenance. There was no rain for eighteen months and water had to be hauled four miles from the Marais des Cyznes River. During these pioneer days they raised cotton and sheep. Jacob's wife learned to card, spin and weave, making most of

their wearing apparel, weaving blankets, linsey, woolen jeans and cotton duck, also flax for towels. Kansas City was the nearest trading point for several years and as the roads were none too safe, the neighbors took turns going there in covered wagons and bought for the whole neighborhood. Such luxuries as sheep-sorrel pie and wild onions as appetizers were not uncommon. Then the Texans drove their cattle through the valley en route to the Kansas City market and gave the settlers' stock the Texas fever. Afterward came the grasshoppers, like the plagues of Egypt, and ate everything in sight. The Marais des Cyznes massacre occurred a few miles north of Jacob's home and the victims were his neighbors. He and his family also lived here during the border troubles between the Jayhawkers and Bushwhackers. During the Civil War the valley was the scene of Price's raid and there was heavy fighting within sight and hearing of Jacob's home."

IN VIRGINIA

There had been two years of drought in the Valley of Virginia. The fields were parched and the wells and streams were going dry. Large numbers of cattle had died from starvation and thirst. The farmers were facing disaster.

As I drove up Tinker Creek valley I encountered a drove of cattle which were being driven out and these

I learned a little later had belonged to the man I was going to see. This was where the Gishes had settled in 1792 and many of their descendants were still in the vicinity.

When I found my man he told me briefly that as he had no more feed he was obliged to sell his stock which he did at a sacrifice. On the day before, he had sold a carload of fattened steers at less than they cost him and that, after he had been feeding them for months.

Since stock raising was the principal source of income of the farmers in this region such a situation seemed to me to be most serious. But my friend soon dropped the subject and betrayed no anxiety as he walked with me up the hill to the little family graveyard where some of his Gish kinfolk were buried. But as he talked I found myself less interested in his ancestors than I was in the man himself.

He was just one of the farmers of Tinker Creek and much like the rest of his kith and kin but in the present setting I was deeply impressed by the solidity of his kind as the social foundation of this republic. Such as he have no use for the regimentation of a paternalistic government and are not likely to seek or accept aid, even when in distress. I inquired on this point in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, and was assured that it was not the Germans who were on relief.

In all the reports which I have received about the Gishes I have not heard of a single pauper nor of one criminal. One man was described as being so far below par that he needed, or was given, occasional help by his neighbors.

As for criminals, the nearest approach, as far as my records are concerned, would be a newspaper report of a fight in which a man was killed by a Gish. With no details of the fight and no report of the trial I have no way of forming a judgment on the man.

At the Naval Academy at Annapolis the name of Joe Gish has become a byword. He is a dolt, a "dummkopf," the butt of many jokes. How the name originated we have not been able to learn. We have made injuiry at headquarters but have only been informed that although some search has been made, no evidence has been found that there ever was a real Joe Gish.

IN SCIENCE

"*Ionic Equilibrium in the Trophosphere and Lower Stratosphere.*" If you know what that means you know more than I do but it is the title of a paper published under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and so it must mean something. This and other papers like it are being written by a son of John Gish. You may find him listed in "American Men of Science" as Assistant Director of

the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism and Chief of the Section of Terrestrial Electricity, The Carnegie Institute of Washington. His father was that same John Gish who went with the scouting party to Kansas in 1878. John never got the college training he wished for at one time, but he gave his children the opportunity to help themselves, even if he could not give them much more. But that was all they needed.

I cannot recite the details of how this Ionic Equilibrium got started but a little farther on I shall tell something of what I saw of other boys from Kansas who were helping themselves.

It is a long jump from those grasshopper infested prairies which John found in Kansas in 1878 to the quiet laboratory on Bound Brook Road in Washington where his son solves impossible equations and devises, constructs and installs instruments for automatically recording the electrical conductivity of the atmosphere at all levels during the flight of the stratosphere balloon "Explorer II," that balloon which was sent up by the National Geographic Society and the Army Air Corps in 1935 from the "Strato-bowl" in the Black Hills. If this is not quite clear I am sure you will get what I mean, which is more than most of his kinfolk do when he tries to tell them what he is doing.

The biographer of Gregor Mendel calls Mendel a peasant and seems to think it very remarkable that a man of great ability and accomplishment should de-

rive from so lowly a source. We in America are accustomed to the idea that much of our leadership originates on the farm and there is probably little difference between the so-called Austrian peasant and the American farmer except in the way of opportunity. Now, at the time when we, who have reached the stage of reminiscence, were ready for adventure, the world was in a very quiet period so far as war was concerned. Indeed we thought wars were forever done with and were not sorry. We found other means of trying our mettle.

IN COLLEGE

In Kansas, 30 to 50 years ago, the greatest adventure a young fellow could have was to fight his way through college. No holds were barred—so long as they were honest. The faculty were a worthy foe—all well trained in the East or abroad.

There were no unfair handicaps in the way of fees to put some at a disadvantage. I think the only fees I ever paid at the University were the five dollar library fees, and they were later abolished.

As to preparation—that one could make for himself if he had had no formal training. When I entered the University at Lawrence there was still offered one year of preparatory work—though, as it happened, that was the last year that sub-freshmen were provided for, which was lucky for me, as all my school-

ing was of the one room country school type. Up to the age of fifteen I never had more than five or six month school sessions in a year, and one year only three. Then for three years I did not go to school at all. I never had a teacher who could help me with Algebra, so I had to get that subject up by myself well enough to pass an entrance examination. Soon after the beginning of work in the sub-freshman year I concluded to ask for an examination in English and thus was allowed to pass on to freshman English.

With such inadequate training the college work inevitably put us on our mettle. But we were not *sent* to college. We went, many of us, with little encouragement or other help from home. So we were not lacking in that inner urge which drives one on and which leads to genuine satisfaction in accomplishment. I had to do some grinding but I have never regretted a single course I took during the eight years I was in College.

But I think I should modify the statement just made about the lack of preparation. There were certain contacts which I made accidentally—i.e., they were not planned by me or anyone else. I think them important enough to retail here because they are in line with the kind of training which our early ancestors got and also in line with the kind of a school Will Franklin had in mind.

In the prairie home, reading matter of all sorts was

scanty. The first things I read which might be called literature were "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Michael Strogoff, the Courier of the Czar." The latter appeared as a serial in the Montreal "Herald and Weekly Star" which by some strange circumstance was one of the few journals regularly taken at Aunt Anna's. Of course I had read the Bible from cover to cover.

In my father's library there were two works which are important in this connection. One was Macaulay's History of England, the other, Steele's "Fourteen Weeks in Astronomy." I waded through the five volumes of Macaulay and remember some of it. And before I leave the subject of literature I must mention Aunt Fannie's "Godey's Ladies' Book" which I found stacked up in the attic. Here I spent some rainy days and got wedged in my mind some marvelous romances about "The Transplanted Rose," "Sidonie Devine" and the English Earls who were forever coming to New York to woo the wealthy debutantes of New York's "four hundred."

I suppose I should add Aunt Fannie's Ladies' Book to the Cashmere Bouquet Soap as another luxury she allowed herself, but where the magazines came from and why she carried them to Kansas will always remain a mystery to me.

The Steele's Astronomy gave me more pleasure in those days than anything else. The Kansas nights in summer are the most brilliantly star-lit of any I have

ever seen and I spent many hours studying the heavens. As one practical result I got credit for an extra course at the University by reading Young's Astronomy and taking an examination on the subject.

One winter I lived in the family of Charles Sternberg, the fossil hunter. He liked to talk and I was greatly interested in his tales of adventure and association with men like Professors Cope and Marsh in their jealous, and zealous search for fossils in many parts of the wild west. But more important, perhaps, were the books which Sternberg had in his library and which I read. The first of these in importance as training for a prospective college student was Dana's Geology but there were others such as Hayden's Survey of the Territories.

Then during the summer before my freshman year I studied the prairie flowers which had always been a great delight to me, but now, with the aid of a second-hand copy of Gray's Manual, I learned something about Botany. This helped me also later to make up an extra credit during the summer.

As I was now several credits in advance of my class a friend one day suggested that I take more extra work, skip the junior year and graduate with the class of '93, instead of my class which was '94, and then take a year at Harvard.

This suggestion was adopted, but before I leave Kansas I must pay tribute to the faculty there. They

were, and still are, a fine lot of scholars and teachers. Among them were such men as Will Franklin, then a young man but later a physicist of national reputation, W. H. Carruth, scholar and poet, Arthur Canfield, S. W. Williston, Olin Templin and others. These all knew their subjects and could teach them, but they were also men who were fitted to inspire the raw youth from the prairie who were in search of what ever was worth while, that life had to offer.

My work with Templin led me to elect Philosophy and Psychology as a major field and, consequently, I heard much of Royce, James and Muensterberg who were all then at Harvard. Naturally the only place to go to continue study along this line was Harvard and there I was the next year.

But I was not the only Kansas boy at Harvard. While I was there, there were at least a dozen others, whom I had known, who came to Harvard for one or more years of graduate study.

I took an undergraduate course under Theodore Richards—a name to conjure with in the realm of Chemistry—but I remember the course not so much for the Chemistry I learned as for some of Richard's pithy sayings, which I have been repeating ever since to my students.

In Muensterberg's laboratory we were a cosmopolitan group where each one was carrying on an independent line of research. Here we probably learned

as much from each other as we did from Muensterberg. But often when the master appeared among us and began to talk to one, the others gathered around to listen. His was a naive personality—almost childlike in simplicity. Although he might be discussing a most recondite subject he seemed to take it for granted that he was speaking to equals. Just at this time he was laying plans for another book and he outlined to us in detail his views on the subject of Epistemology.

Other occasions which none of us will ever forget were when we met around the seminar table with James and Royce and Muensterberg all present. To hear such men discuss any subject was a high privilege for any man. And then again we met socially at the home of Professor Palmer who was chairman of the Department of Philosophy. It will be remembered that Mrs. Palmer was the Alice Freeman whose name was perhaps more widely known in the households of America than that of any of those men.

I seemed to be wavering on the boundary between two fields. I was then, as ever since, especially interested in the psychology of the lower forms of life. But at that time the Harvard laboratory was not prepared to take on animal, or comparative, psychology and the nearest approach I could make was through the Department of Natural History.

So it befell that my work shifted to the field of

Biology where I sat under the tutelage of such men as Dr. E. L. Mark, Dr. G. H. Parker and Dr. C. B. Davenport. It was chiefly through the interest of Dr. Parker that it became possible for me to remain on for three years more than I had thought of when I left K.U. Dr. Parker's lectures were models of lucidity and Dr. Davenport's the most stimulating of any series I have ever listened to. This was in part due to the new field which he seemed to be opening up, for he was then breaking ground for sciences which had not yet come into being—Heredity and Genetics.

Among others who were working in the laboratories at this time were H. V. Neal, W. E. Castle, H. S. Jenning, C. A. Kifoid and others who have since attained wide renown.

It is surely not necessary to say more to show what privileges I have enjoyed. But that is not the point. I had no *special* privileges. Many others like myself were doing what I did and the opportunity was open to all.

But I must tell of an opportunity which was incidental but meant much to me. I recall as if it were yesterday the time I went to the County Fair at Abilene. I was about fourteen years old and might have remembered much, but the only image I can call up is of myself hanging on the railing around a booth where a young man was performing on the piano. I

had probably never seen a piano before or heard one in action and I was enthralled. By nature music would have been my greatest passion if I had had opportunity to cultivate it. Imagine then what it meant to me to attend the Boston Symphonic concerts or the operas of Abbey, Schoeffel and Grau, at the old Mechanics' Hall, or the German Opera Seasons which Walter Damrosch was then introducing to the Boston public at the old Boston Theatre.

All of this may lose its point without further explanation. The reader might conclude either that I was well supplied with funds or else I am building a tall story on a rather slender foundation of fact. However, I can produce the documents for any doubting Thomas. I have preserved to this day a stack of programs of the Symphony Concerts and Operas and have an envelope full of souvenir tickets.

Two of us bought a series ticket for the concerts and attended alternately. For the Italian opera we patronized the standees at one dollar per, and for the German opera it was the gallery for us. One noteworthy fact was that the Wagnerian operas drew a large attendance from the Zoological laboratory.

As to funds: I never received much from home,—there was no surplus there to draw from. The total could not have been more than the sum the average college student of to-day spends in one semester. The bequest of grandfather to which I have already re-

ferred amounted to eleven hundred dollars. There was no fairy god-father. I had saved a little before I entered College from wages I had earned. I earned small sums during the years I was in college, was awarded a small scholarship and as laboratory assistant I received free tuition for three years.

Looking back at it all from the present state of affairs in such matters I find it hard to believe my own story. But I never seriously felt the pinch of want. I did without many things I might have wanted but I got many things others have had to do without. One summer I made a trip to England but I earned my way on a cattle boat and the trip cost me no more than living expenses would have been at home. When I came aboard that boat I thought I would be alone but I found two other Harvard men I knew, already on board. They were also from the west and not afraid to soil their hands with honest labor.

These details are told not because they were remarkable but because they reflect the times. There were many boys doing just the same and I knew of cases which were much more noteworthy.

IN THE HOME

Many of the better houses, barns and mills still standing in Lancaster County were built during the early decades of the last century. We know this

from inscriptions which they bear on stone panels let into the walls. The inscriptions usually give only the names of the builders and the date, but I think we can read something more than that which appears on the surface.

Here are a few examples:

1. A farmstead at Landisville:

(on the barn)	(on the house)
Gebaut	Built by
Durch	John Heistand
Johannes	and his wife
Hiestandt	Catharine
Mit seiner ehefrau	A.D. 1822
Katharina	
A.D. 1820	

2. On a mill on the Chiques Creek:
   Built by John and Barbara Schenk
   A.D. 1829
3. On a barn in Dauphin County:
   Built by Adam and Molly Hamaker
   1820
4. On a mill on Conoy Creek:
   Built by Joseph Hurst and Mary H.
   1813
5. On a mill on Conoy Creek:
   Built by Jacob and Elizabeth Engle

The last name is that of Aunt Lizzie. This inscription is quoted from memory and is probably not verbally correct.

I say that there are many such inscriptions—there must be hundreds. They seem to indicate that during the period 1800–1830 there was great building activity throughout this district—a period of great prosperity.

However, the matter that interests me most is the fact that invariably as far as my observation has gone, the wife's name appears beside that of her husband and that, not only on the house, but also on the barn and even on the mill.

The meaning of this can only be that the wife was generally regarded as a partner, literally, and on an equal footing with her husband. It coincides with my observation of the domestic relations of husband and wife among these people and I am stressing the point here because of the oft repeated libel that the German hausfrau was little more than a slave or chattel. I have admitted, or boasted, that she worked hard, but I insist that she did it of her own free will and was merely keeping pace with her husband.

I think I am absolutely correct in saying that the German wife was just as much mistress in the sphere of her household as her husband was master on the farm. They were in reality partners.

A reading of the wills written during this period shows invariably that the chief concern of the husband was that his widow should be fully provided for. The American woman of to-day resents the way in which

this was done but she need not go to the German customs of a hundred years ago to find things that do not please her. The so-called Anglo-Saxon customs of that time would not have been any more to her liking. I think I am correct in saying that the economic status of the German wife was as good—probably much better, than that of the wife in England.

Coming now more specifically to the women of the Gish clan I feel a little surer of my ground than I did in dealing with the men. Of the men I could say little more than that they have maintained a surprisingly uniform and relatively high social and financial status. I cannot formulate in my own mind the how or the why.

In the women I think we see something more than the capacity for unremitting toil and frugality. To the stranger or outsider the men appear reserved and unapproachable and the women even more so. But this attitude is their conception of propriety and is not an evidence of dull wits.

The women are alert, capable and quietly forceful or effective without being domineering or aggressive. They get results and their households run smoothly.

A few examples may best illustrate what I have in mind and, just to show that I do not mean to say that the women of Gish descent were unusual, I shall first refer to Anna Longenecker the wife of Abraham Gish (second). After the death of her husband she

went to Ohio with eight of her children, leaving two behind. She, therefore, had her deepest interests divided between the two places and one can understand why she should shuttle back and forth. But as there were no Pullman trains, no railroad trains at all, she made the trip across the mountains five times on horseback.

Or consider again those six daughters of her daughter Polly Rutt. In the family of Moses Rutt and his wife Polly Gish, there were four sons and six daughters. The four sons all remained in Ohio to the end of their days but the six sisters all married and moved to Cass County, Missouri. Just why this family should have been divided in this peculiar way is puzzling and I can offer no plausible explanation, but one thing seems clear and that is that those young ladies had minds of their own.

The mere fact that a woman was the wife of a frontiersman may tell us little or nothing of her except that she must have had some grit and stamina, but, on the whole, the women of the frontiers must have been of the same stuff as their husbands whom they followed. I have tried to get some first-hand information of life in the household of the frontier family but with little success. Most of those who lived through it are gone and the few still living regard the story too commonplace to repeat.

A daughter of Christian Gish who pioneered to

Texas in the early days is still living in San Antonio. All that she thought worth while telling is that she remembered driving to Texas in an ox wagon.

Aunt Annie was my one best friend all through my life to the end of her ninety odd years. No matter how far afield I wandered she kept in touch with me and I have preserved all her letters. Before I was old enough to realize my indebtedness or acknowledge a gratitude for her interest I felt toward her something of what others might toward their mother.

As a boy I liked to stand behind the kitchen stove and watch her as she stirred the flour thickening into the ham gravy while at the same time commenting on some topic which was at the moment the subject of our conversation. She did not belong to any club; she was not a committee woman; she made no speeches. In fact she was the least conspicuous person there ever was. But she had her views on life, set by a simple philosophy which never failed to help her answer her questions.

If she did not agree with you she never hesitated to state her own position but she did it in such a way as to leave no sting or sense of reproach.

Aunt Annie knew nothing of the usual social amenities; she and her circle had a system all their own. She never "served tea" when friends called, though there might be refreshments. When talking with Miss Lillian—the one everybody knows—I have

had the curious feeling that I was in the presence of Aunt Annie. It may have been wholly imaginary, though not impossible that there was some intangible similarity, as they were second cousins, once removed. Certainly Aunt Annie knew nothing of the cultured graciousness of Miss Lillian which so fascinated her biographer.

But I have no words to adequately describe the charm of Aunt Annie's personality. To others, who were less well acquainted with her she would have seemed just one of the many.

MARY AND MARTHA

Mary and Martha were cousins. Their ancestors were 100 per cent. German and they were both born in Lancaster County more than half a century ago. We were all children there together but soon our paths parted and we seldom saw or heard of each other.

THE PARABLE OF A KANSAS FARM

It was twenty-five years ago that I last saw Martha. She and her husband were then living on a Kansas farm where they brought up a family of eight children. At that time the children were all small and I remember the table where we had dinner with mother at one end, father at the other and four of the little ones on each side.

After that there was a silence of many years, ex-

cept for word I had, that George had become a helpless invalid and then, five years later, that Martha was left alone with the care of that family which now had reached that stage which is usually so difficult for the parents, the stage which calls for money and more money to cover the cost of an education.

But my meager information told me that those children were getting on somehow and I was finally impelled to write Martha for the details and I asked a lot of questions. The following is her reply which I quote verbatim:

Dated Aug. 7, 1936.

"I received your letter this morning and as I have a little time I will answer some of your questions.

"I am living here on the farm and the youngest boy is doing the farming. He is married and has a little daughter over four months old.

"We have our house divided. I have my rooms and am living alone. I can go and come, that is, I have nothing to keep me home if I want to go.

"The family are all married but the youngest daughter who is a R.N. and at present is working in the Miami Valley Hospital in Dayton, Ohio. She took her training there and Paul his interne work.

"I will say right here that George hadn't been able to do much for five years but always helped with the managing till about one and one half years [before the end].

"We managed to give all of our children high school but the college they had to pay for.

"Our oldest daughter, Frances, taught country school four years and now she is teaching three of her own children.

"Our oldest boy had some college but at present is doing Dairy Extension work and check testing at Saint Joseph, Mo.

"The next boy is Paul who took most of his Academy work at our church school at Grantham after which he went to Wittenberg College in Ohio and graduated in a class of one hundred and forty-four. He and five others got a scholarship and he was one of the two who got "Magna Cum Laude." He also did well while in the medical school in Cincinnati. He has been practicing over a year and a half and likes his profession. He has a little boy three years old and a little girl over a year old.

"The other boy, Ben, lives in California and teaches in one of our church schools, "Beulah College."

"Next comes Mary who is a missionary in S. Rhodesia, Africa. She married Charles Eshleman. They have been there seven years.

"They have both been teaching in a boys school. . . .

"It took time and a sacrifice to raise our family of eight but I have said I would do it again. God has been good to us. They are all intelligent and good Christian citizens. . . ."

This Kansas farm was not in the Dust Bowl but it was near enough to be dusty, and the "depression" here was just as deep as it was anywhere else, but it was not necessary to mortgage the farm to send those children to school and there was no call on the government for aid.

MARY

Mary early disappeared from my horizon and for many years I knew nothing of the vicissitudes of life through which she passed. Now after all these years she comes to life again on a goat ranch in the hills of northern California. Here the chief asset seemed to be the "wide open spaces" and an abundance of fresh air. The goats were not a gold mine and their main function seemed to be to give a name to the ranch.

Somehow Mary performed miracles or so they should seem to some parents who find difficulty in sending their children to college. I have known of parents with a single child who found it difficult to keep that child in school although the father had a permanent position and was drawing a good salary.

Mary has ten children and all have their college degrees. I should say university, for no cheap second rate college would do. It was only a choice between Leland Stanford, Jr. or the State University at Berkeley. Mary did not do it single handed. It was a family project. They all pulled together as a team

with Mary as the captain. Since there were eleven of them and Mary was the smallest we might say she was quarter back and captain.

Now that her children all have their degrees and are "on their own," some as mining engineers in South America, some as University professors in Ohio one might think Mary entitled to a rest but at this moment she is in charge of fifty of the children of other parents and naturally too busy to answer my letters. So I have had to get my information in a roundabout way.

Do I hear someone say "I can tell stories like that too"? I hope so. Because you will then be backing me up in the claim I made at the beginning—that this is the history of a *typical* American family.

APPENDIX

A

NOTES

(1) "The Germans in America." Die Neue Langenscheidt Lecture, page 53.

ANALYSIS OF THE CENSUS OF 1910

Total White population	81,731,957
English (not including Scotch and Welsh)	19,750,000
Scotch and Welsh	5,000,000
Germans, including Dutch	21,000,000
Irish	15,250,000

(2) "Die Answanderung aus dem Berkenfelder Land." R. Mörsdorf. Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, Bonn, 1939.

(3) "Knowest thou the land" the first line of the song of Mignon in which she tells of her longing for the land of her birth. The original in Goethe's Wilhelm Meister and set to music in the opera "Mignon" by

Ambroise Thomas. Most frequently heard in French as "Connais tu le pays."

Thomas was a native of Metz which lies a short distance south of Trier but also in the valley of the Mosel (Moselle).

In its operatic setting "Kennst du das Land?" is for me, the most poignant passage in all musical literature.

(4) From a pamphlet in the Harvard College Library. It is unsigned but was presumably written by William Penn.

(5) Schwenkfelder Diary in Brecht's "Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families," page 35, also in the Pennsylvania Magazine.

(6) "Journey to Pennsylvania," etc. Gottfried Mittelberger.

(7) Quoted from Kuhns' "German and Swiss Settlements," pages 64.

(8) From Brumbaugh's "History of the Brethren."

(9) From a letter in the library at Munster, writer unknown, translated by J. F. Sachse.

(10) In the "Collection of 30,000 Names, etc.," by I. D. Rupp, also in Pennsylvania Archives, second series, Vol. XVII, and in "Pennsylvania German Pioneers," by Ralph Beaver Strasburger, edited by William John Hinke, Ph.D., D.D., in three volumes, 1934,

constituting volume XLII of the proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society.

Volume I of the last named work contains the passenger list of the vessels bringing foreigners to the port of Philadelphia between the years 1727–1775. Volume II contains facsimile reproductions of the signatures of these foreigners as they appear in the two Declarations which they signed on the day of their arrival—the oath of allegiance and the oath of abjuration. Volume III contains an alphabetical list of all names. There is also a supplementary text of explanation and some historical account referring to these lists.

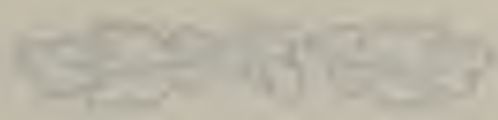
(11) Morgan Edwards, quoted by Brumbaugh.

(12) "Extempore on a Wagon" by George Henry Loskiel. Translated by J. Max Hark.

(13) "Virginia" by Henry Howe, 1845.

(14) "The Harshbarger Family" by William Anderson.

(15) The ship Elizabeth—voyage of 1733—had among her passengers 22 farmers, 8 weavers, 3 shoemakers, 2 fiddlers, 2 millers, 2 smiths, 2 carpenters, 1 tailor, 1 joiner, 1 bonemaker, 1 cooper, 1 saddler, 1 wagoner, 1 butcher. Occupation of others not given.



B

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Here is appended a list of books and other sources of information for those who may wish to extend their reading or pursue some cognate line of investigation.

The references are not arranged in alphabetical order but are grouped according to subject matter. An excellent bibliography may also be found in the volume by Oscar Kuhns entitled "German and Swiss Settlements in Pennsylvania." In any case this book may be recommended as a brief introduction to the subject. The more ambitious reader might next take up "The German Element in the United States" by A. B. Faust, which contains a very complete bibliography.

I. Germany

The Country and its People (Land und Leute)

Die Schöne Heimat. Karl Robert Langwiesche Verlag. Book of pictures of Germany.

Childe Harold—Canto III. Lord Byron. The Rhine as it appeared to the poet.

Le Rhin. Hugo, Victor. "A series of letters from Germany, brilliant and vivid beyond all comparison."

Hugo's Le Rhin. Translation. Wiley & Putnam, 1845.

Am Rhein. Kerps, H. "Land und Leute." Many excellent illustrations.

Les Vielles Villes du Rhin. Robida, A. Paris. Many excellent pencil sketches of the Rhine from Switzerland to Holland.

Die Rheinlande. d'Ester, Dr. Karl. Leipzig, 1916. An excellent collection of short abstracts from well known writers. Includes Mosel Valley.

Lebensbilder aus dem P. Rheinlande. Beck, Fred A.

Das Rheinland. Spitz, Joh. Wilh. Dusseldorf, 1838. Many engravings.

Rheinische Novellen. Schäfer, Wilhelm.

Views of the Rhine. Tombleson. London, 1832. Many interesting engravings. Views from Köln to Mainz.

Legends of the Rhine. Guerber, H. A.

A Book of the Rhine. Baring Gould, S. Readable. Good illustrations.

Kinder der Eifel. Viebig, Clara.

Burgkinder. Herzog, Rudolph.

Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben. Lamprecht, Karl.

Zur Kentniss des Hunsrück. Fritz, Meyer.

Handbook—North Germany. Murray, John.

Handbook—Oldenburg, etc. Kohli, L.

A Pilgrimage to Treves. Anthon, Chas. Edw. Harper Bros., 1845.

Treves, St. Matthia. Diel, Philipp.

Luxemburg. Annuaire Officiel, etc.

Die Luxemburger in der Neuen Welt. Gonner, N.

Ous hémacht. Organ des Vereins Luxemburg—Geschichte.

Biography luxembourgeoise. Neyen, Aug.

Die Auswanderung—Birkenfeld Mörsdorf, Dr. Robert.

Reaching for the Stars. Nora Waln. Best characterization of modern Germany I have seen.

II. Religions

Die Waldenser, etc. Müller, Karl.

Waldensertum, etc. Haupt, Hermann.

History of the Waldenses. Coylie, J.

A History of the Vaudois Church. Monastir, A.

Memorial of the Hugenots in America. Stapleton, Rev. A. Gives many names.

Luther's Forerunners. Perrin, J. P.

Die Anfänge der Reformations. Keller, Ludwig.

Mennonites of America. Krehbiel, H. P. Newton, Kansas. 1926.

Mennonite History and Doctrine. Funk, Joseph and Burkholder, Peter.

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Mennonite Church History. Hartzler and Kauffman.

Mennonites in America. Smith, C. H.

Religious forces in the United States. Carroll, H. K.

Mennonites—see also many works by: Wedel; Keller; Schoen; Crichton; Klaus, A.; Epp, D. H.; Hildebrandt; Prinz; Musser, D.; Cassel, D. K.

The Moravians in Georgia. Fries, A. L.

History of the United Brethren (Moravians). Reichel, L. T.

History of the Brethren (Moravians). Cranz, D.

History of the German Baptist Brethren (Church of the Brethren). Brumbaugh, M. G.

The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania. Sachse, J. F.

Zuricher Wiedertaufer. Egli, E.

Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer. Müller, Ernst. 1895.

Geschichte der Wiedertaufer. Keller, L.

For History of the Church of the Brethren see also: Heath; Vedder; Beck; Rembert; Nitsche; Rupp.

III. Pennsylvania

The True William Penn. Fisher, S. G. Philadelphia, 1900.

The Making of Pennsylvania. Fisher, S. G. An excellent introduction to the history of Pennsylvania.

Geography of Pennsylvania. Trego, Chas. B. 1843. With a map of the state showing roads, canals and railroads of the time.

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Industrial Revolution. Chap. IV. T. S. Ashton.

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Town Labourer. Chap. VI. J. L. and Barbara Hammond.

Skilled Labourer. Chap. VII. J. L. and Barbara Hammond.

The Rise of the Modern Factory System. Chap. VIII. C. Pelham Thornley.

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Economic Development of the Continent in the Nineteenth Century. Chap. XI. Sidney Pollard.

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Industrial Democracy. Chap. II. Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

Evolution of Trade Unionism. Chap. III. Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

Trade Unionism. G. D. H. Cole. Chapters on Labour Unrest and Syndicalism.

'S Alt Marik Haus Mittes In D'r Schtadt un Die Alte Zeite. Fisher, H. L. Dialect verse. Many illustrations, crude but valuable for drawings of implements, furniture, etc., of the olden times.

The Red Hills. Weygandt, Cornelius. 1929.

A Pleasant Peregrination. "Peregrine Prolix" (Nicklin, P. H.).

"Harbaugh's Harfe." Harbaugh, H. Philadelphia, 1870. Poems in Pennsylvania Dutch.

IV. Local Histories, Etc.

Histories of Counties and local Biographic Annals may be found in library catalogues under the name of the county. There are too many of these to be listed here. Sometimes several counties may be combined under some such name as Western Maryland, The Shenandoah Valley, Southwestern Virginia, Men of California, etc.

History of the German Element in Virginia. Hermann Schuricht.

"Massanutten" by Strickler tells of the early settlements in the Shenandoah Valley, and "Virginia" by Henry Howe gives an account of life in Virginia as he saw it in 1845.

Consult the Year Book of the "Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies" which includes more than sixty-five special or local societies.

History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Clare, Israel Smith. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Beers and Co.

History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Mombert, J. I. 1869.

History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Ellis, F. and Evans, S.

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V. Public Records

County records of deeds, wills, orphan's court and marriage licenses, will usually yield much information. I have visited many court houses from Philadelphia westward and southward to Pulaski and Rocky Mount, Virginia and elsewhere, and everywhere, except Lebanon, Pennsylvania, I had free access to the records, was shown every courtesy and often offered assistance. In Lebanon I was shown a notice pasted on the door of the vault, which said, in effect, that only lawyers were permitted to use the records and that a fee was to be paid any authorized person for looking up a reference.

The State Library at Harrisburg offers ideal conditions for work in this field. The Congressional Library at Washington offers vast resources. The Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia also is a mine of information. The records of the Penn land grants are to be found in the State House at Harrisburg—not in Philadelphia where

they were formerly. The Lancaster County Historical Society has an excellent small library which is, however, not readily accessible except to members. The York County Historical Society has an excellent library, open to the visitor, but the collections are not yet very large.

Records on tombstones should not be overlooked and there are many family records preserved in the family Bibles—if they can be located.

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New Rivers of the North. Footner, Hurlbert. Outing Publishing Co. 1912. Glimpses of frontier life from trader-trapper to early settler.

Northwest Passage. Roberts, Kenneth Lewis. A picture of the interior of New England at the time of the Revolution.

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C

GISH FAMILY CHRONOLOGY

1677 Penn's Second Missionary Journey to Germany, visiting Frankfort and Kriegsheim (near Worms).

1681 Penn received grant of lands in America. Pennsylvania.

1682 Pastorius visited Frankfort, Kriegsheim and Crefeld.

Penn arrived in Philadelphia in October.

1683 June 6, Pastorius sailed for America, arrived August 16.

The "Concord" arrived in Philadelphia October 6.

1694 Johann Kelpins and 40 mystics settled on the Wissahickon.

1710 Swiss Mennonites settle on the Conestoga.

1719 Dunkards under Peter Becker settle on the Conestoga.

1723 Germans from Scoharie settle at Tulpehocken.
1729 Lancaster County organized.
1733 Landing of Matthias Gisch, September 18 (29).
1739 Warrant issued to Matthias Gisch for 107 plus 6% A.
1743 Patent granted for above.
1742 Matthias and Katharine join the White Oak congregation, Church of the Brethren.
1743 Matthias Gisch builds barn which is still standing.
1745 Warrant issued for 23 plus 6% A.
1750 Patent granted for above.
1751 Warrant issued for 40 plus 6% A.
1757 Matthias Gisch died.
Anna Maria born.
Inventory of estate filed at Lancaster, November 23.
1761 Court grants Letters of Administration to Christian.
1762 Report of Administrator and sale of farm to Peter Kratzer.
1770 Jacob Gish died.
1774 Abraham buys 140 A in Mount Joy Twp.
1785 Abraham buys 696 A in Donegal Twp.
1786 Abraham sells farm in Mount Joy Twp.
1789 Abraham dies.
1790 David buys the Conewago farm.

1794 Donegal farm divided.
1802 David sells the Conewago farm.
1905 (?) First Gish family reunion in Ohio.
1906 First Gish reunion in Pennsylvania at the homestead in Donegal.
1933 August 17, Family reunion at Manheim and Marker erected at Penryn (White Oak).

D

GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF THE GISHES IN AMERICA

Matthias Gish × Katharine (Bauer?)

1. Christian	Born before 1741
2. Anna	
3. John	
4. Katharine	Born after 1741
5. Abraham	
6. Jacob	
7. David	
8. Anna Maria.	Born October 1757

I. CHRISTIAN GISH × SOPHIA HOCK

1. Christian Gish × Elizabeth Stintz (?) (Barbara)
    1. Christian Gish × Susanna Neff
    2. John Gish × Bettsy Noffsinger
    3. Abraham Gish × Mrs. Frances Hill
    4. Samuel Gish × Frances Wiley
    5. David Gish × Lydia Wiley
    6. George Gish × Bettsy Peters
    7. Joseph Gish × Sarah Landis
2. John Gish × Katharine Stover
    1. Katharine Gish
    2. Anna Gish
    3. Elizabeth Gish
2. John Gish ×× Mary Wagner
    4. Christian Gish
    5. Samuel Gish
    6. John Gish
    7. Mary Gish
    8. Jacob Gish
    9. William Gish
3. Elizabeth Gish × Samuel Harshbarger
    1. Elizabeth Harshbarger × Samuel Frankebarger
    2. Jacob Harshbarger × Salome Ammen
    3. Maria Harshbarger × Joseph Noffsinger
    4. Susan Harshbarger × John Bonsack
    5. Samuel Harshbarger × Elizabeth Myers
    6. Katharine Harshbarger × Jacob Bonsack

Katharine Harshbarger ⨯⨯ Joseph Brubaker

4. Katharine Gish—Without issue.
5. George Gish ⨯ Susanna Stover
    1. Jacob Gish ⨯ Rebecca Harshbarger
    2. George Gish ⨯ Ruth Howell
       George Gish ⨯⨯ Elizabeth Garman
    3. Abraham Gish ⨯ Esther Houtz
    4. Elizabeth Gish ⨯ John Beckner
    5. Christian Gish ⨯ Mary McNeill
    6. David Gish ⨯ Susan Harshbarger
    7. William Gish ⨯ Anna Zell

II. ANNA GISH ⨯ PETER KRATZER

1. John Kratzer
2. Anna Kratzer
3. Mary Kratzer
4. Abraham Kratzer
5. Susanna Kratzer ⨯ Jacob Ratz (Fretz?)
6. Jacob Kratzer
7. Peter Kratzer
8. Elizabeth Kratzer ⨯ Abraham Beahm
9. Christian Kratzer
10. Katharine Kratzer ⨯ Jacob Sahm

III. JOHN GISH ⨯ ELIZABETH KAPP

1. John Gish
2. Christian Gish ⨯ Elizabeth Eshleman
    1. Christian Gish ⨯ Rachel M. Turnbolt

2. Benjamin Gish × Katy Brand
3. Jacob Gish × Saloma Kieffer
4. Michael Gish
5. John Gish
6. Matthias Gish
7. Catharine Gish × John Brill
8. Barbara Gish × ——— Ebersole
9. Anna Gish—spinster

3. Anna Maria Gish × Henry Deshler
4. Abraham Gish × Annie Eshleman
    1. Jacob Gish × Maria Hollinger
    2. Abraham Gish × Elizabeth Hummel
    3. Barbara Gish × Adam Reeder
    4. Catharine Gish × Christian Hamaker
    5. Anna Gish
    6. Elizabeth Gish × Peter Heisey
5. Jacob Gish × Sarah Ann Henyon
    1. John Gish
    2. Abraham Gish ×
    3. Dr. Samuel H. Gish × Sally Ann Fredericks
        Dr. Samuel H. Gish ×× ———?
        Dr. Samuel H. Gish ××× Jane McNeill
    4. Jacob Gish
    5. Eliza Ann Gish × ——— Gordon
    6. Elizabeth Gish × Samuel Kemmerer
6. Matthias Gish
7. Catharine Gish × I. Brendle

IV. KATHARINE GISH × JACOB BUEHLER (BAYLOR)

1. George Buehler
2. Anna Maria Buehler
3. Jacob Buehler
4. Mary Buehler × ——— Fisher
5. Elizabeth Buehler × ——— Neider
6. Christina Buehler × ——— Zimmerman
7. Barbara Buehler × ——— Kella
8. Martin Buehler
9. Christian Buehler

V. ABRAHAM GISH × SUSANNA KUHNS

1. Jacob Gish × Mary Stehman
    1. John S. Gish × Anna Brenneman
    2. Maria Gish × Michael Brenneman
2. Abraham Gish × Anna Longenecker
    1. Elizabeth Gish × John Kapp
    2. Nancy Gish × Henry Rutt
    3. Abraham Gish × Eliza Shelly
    4. John L. Gish × Anna Risser
    5. Jacob Gish × Fanny Shank
    6. Christian Gish × ——— Shank
    7. Polly Gish × Moses Rutt
    8. Catharine Gish × John Meyer
    9. David Gish × Catharine Stamen
    10. Michael Gish × Catharine Hamilton
3. Catharine Gish × John Bossler

1. Dr. Jacob Bossler ×
2. John Bossler
3. Nancy Bossler × ——— Rife
   Nancy Bossler ×× ——— Webbert
4. Catharine Bossler × Dr. ——— Fahnstock
5. Abraham Bossler ×

4. John Gish × Elizabeth Engle
   1. John I. Gish × Susanna Musser
   2. Elizabeth Gish × Henry Musser
   3. Susan Gish × Christian Hershey
5. Christian Gish × Anna Musser
   No issue
6. David Gish × Martha Sniveley
   1. John Gish × Lydia Vandersand
      John Gish ×× Catharine Immel
   2. Susan Gish × ——— Rhinehart
   3. Barbara Gish × ——— Hoover
   4. Mary A. Gish × William Orr
   5. David Gish
   6. Eliza Gish × John S. Middlekauff
7. George Gish × Susanna Groff
   1. Maria Gish × Erasmus Weyrick
      Maria Gish ×× Jacob Sauders
   2. Jacob Gish
   3. Anna Gish × Samuel Greenawalt
   4. Abraham Gish
   5. Jonas Gish
   6. David Gish × Diana Waltz

7. George Gish ⚔ Rachel Zimmerman
    7. Eliza Gish ⚔ Jacob Buser
    8. Susan Gish ⚔ John Snavley
8. Elizabeth Gish ⚔ Henry Heisey
    1. Martin G. Heisey ⚔ Magdalene Gochenauer
    2. Elizabeth Heisey
    3. Abraham Heisey ⚔ Fanny Goss
    4. Henry G. Heisey ⚔ Mary Brinser
    5. Susanna Heisey
    6. Martha Heisey
9. Susan Gish—spinster
10. Matthias Gish ⚔ Frances Hamaker
    1. John Gish
    2. Abraham Gish
    3. Elizabeth Gish ⚔ John Moist
    4. Matthias Gish
    5. Fanny Gish ⚔ Alfred Lenox
    6. Dr. Christopher Gish ⚔ Mary Fiets
    Dr. Christopher Gish ⚔⚔ Fanny Eyer

VI. JACOB GISH

VII. DAVID GISH ⚔ FRENEY ———(?)

1. Jacob Gish ⚔ Ann Vinyard
    1. Elizabeth Gish ⚔ Christian Vinyard
    2. John Gish
    3. Susanna Gish ⚔ Charles Carney
    4. Abraham Gish ⚔ Rosy Painter (?)

5. Katy Gish × Col. David Sperry
6. Jacob Gish × Catharine Kinzie
7. Polly Gish × George Lemon
8. Lydia Gish × Peter Nininger
9. Ann Gish × Samuel Moomaw
10. Cassie Gish × Daniel Kinzie
11. Priscilla Gish × James Snyder

1. Jacob Gish ×× Catharine Stover (widow)
2. Abraham Gish × ——— Frantz
    1. John C. Gish × ——— Frantz
       John C. Gish ×× Cassie Painter
    2. Abraham Gish
    3. Jacob Gish
    4. Bettsy Gish × Nathan Scott
    5. Mary Gish × John Campbell
2. Abraham Gish ×× Polly Frye
    6. George Gish × Sarah Wightsman
    7. Sallie Gish × Jacob Peterman
    8. Sophia Gish × Samuel Burns
2. Abraham Gish ××× Charity Bean
    9. Christian Gish × Tillie Bean
    10. Matthias Gish
    11. Susan Gish × Samuel Atwell
    12. Rosanna Gish × Charles Caldhoun
    13. Eliza Gish × William Nininger
2. Abraham Gish ×××× Asenath Murray
3. David Gish × Mary Small
    1. John Gish × Adaline Taylor

2. David Gish × Lydia Eddington
3. Susan Gish × John Noffsinger
4. Bettsy Gish × John Stoner

3. David Gish ×× Polly Wright
5. Anthony Gish
6. Mary Eliza Gish × Jacob P. Brugh
7. George Russel Gish × Mary Thrasher

VIII. ANNA MARIA GISH × JOHN BRINSER

1. Anna Brinser × Johannes Wilhelm Berg
2. John Brinser × Polly Carper
3. Abraham Brinser
4. Jacob Brinser
5. Matthias Brinser × Catharine Heisey
1. Nancy Brinser × Samuel Groff
2. Mary Brinser × Christian Wolgemuth
3. Daniel Brinser
4. Susan Brinser × Joseph Martin
5. Elizabeth Brinser × Adam Metzger
6. Catharine Brinser × Rev. Samuel Kieffer
7. Lydia Brinser × Harry Kieffer
8. Fannie Brinser × Isaac Brinser
9. Rev. Solomon Brinser × Elizabeth Shearer

6. Catharine Brinser × ——— Livingston

E

PENN PATENT

THOMAS PENN and RICHARD PENN Esqrs. True and Absolute Proprietaries and Governors in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on the Delaware. To all unto whom these Presents shall come Greeting WHERAS by virtue of a Warrant under the seal of our Land Office bearing the Eleventh Day of April in the Year of our Lord 1745 there was surveyed and laid out unto Matthias Kish of the County of Lancaster A certain Tract of Land Situate in Warwick Township in the said County of Lancaster bounded and described as follows, viz., Beginning at a marked white oak and from thence extending by other land of the said Matthias Kish South thirteen degrees West forty four perches to a post thence by vacant Land North eighty-five degrees West one hundred and ten perches to a marked white oak thence by lines of marked

Trees North by West thirty two perches to a marked white oak South eighty-six Degrees East seventy-four perches to a marked spanish oak and North eighty-two Degrees East fifty-two perches to the place of Beginning Containing Twenty-three Acres per Cent. for Roads and Highways, As in and by the Survey thereof remaining in our Surveyor General's Office and from thence certified with our Secretary's Office may appear *Now* at the Instance and Request of the said Matthias Kish that we would be pleased to grant him a Confirmation of the same KNOW YE that in consideration of the Sum of Three Pounds Eleven Shillings and Three Pence Lawful money of Pennsylvania to our use paid by the said Matthias Kish (The Receipt whereof we hereby acknowledge and thereof do acquit and forever discharge the said Matthias Kish his Heirs and Assigns by these Presents) And of the yearly Quit Rent hereafter mentioned and reserved WE HAVE given granted released and confirmed And by these Presents for Us our Heirs and Successors Do give grant release and confirm unto the said Matthias Kish his Heirs and Assigns the said twenty-three Acres of Land as the same are now set forth bounded and limited as aforesaid With all Mines Minerals Quarries Meadows Marshes Savannas Swamps Cripples Woods Underwoods Timber and Trees Ways Waters Water Courses Liberties Profits Commodities Advantages Hereditaments and Appurtenances what-

soever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining and lying within the Boundries and Limits aforesaid (Three full and Clear Fifth Parts of all Royal Mines free from all Deductions and Reprisals for digging and refining the same and also One Fifth Part of the Ore of all other Mines delivered at the Pitsmouth only excepted and hereby reserved) And also free Leave Right and Liberty to and for the said Matthias Kish his Heirs and Assigns to hawk hunt fish and fowl in and upon the hereby granted Land and Premises or upon any Part thereof TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said twenty three acres of Land and Premises hereby granted (except as before excepted) with their appurtenances unto the said Matthias Kish his Heirs and Assigns To the only Use and Behoof of the said Matthias Kish his Heirs and Assigns forever. TO BE HOLDEN of Us our Heirs and Successors Proprietaries of Pennsylvania as of our Manor of Counestogoe in the County of Lancaster aforesaid in free and common Socage by Fealty only in lieu of all other services YIELDING AND PAYING therefor yearly unto Us our Heirs and Successors at the Town of Lancaster in the said County at or upon the First Day of March in every Year from the First Day of March last One Half penny Sterling for every Acre of the same or value thereof in coin current according as the Exchange shall then be between our said Province and the City of London to such Person or

Persons as shall from time to time be appointed to receive the same AND in case of nonpayment thereof within ninety Days next after the same shall become due that then it shall and may be lawful for Us our Heirs and Successors our and their Receiver or Receivers into and upon the hereby granted Land and Premises to reenter and the same to hold and posess untill the said Quit Rent and all Arrears thereof together with the charges accruing by means of such nonpayment and Reentry be fully paid and discharged WITNESS James Hamilton Esquire Lieutenant Governor of the said Province who, in Pursuance and by Virtue of certain Powers and Authorities to him for this Purpose, into alia, granted by the said Proprietaries hath hereunto set his hand and caused the Great Seal of the said Province to be hereunto affixed at Philadelphia this Tenth Day of October in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty the Twenty Fourth year of the Reign of King George the Second over Great Britain and the Thirty Third year of the said Proprietaries Government.

Signed by James Hamilton

F

Christian Kish,—Administrator.

1762. Between Christian Kish and Sophia, his wife of Township of Lebanon and Peter Kreitzer of Township of Warwick (both Yeomen)
Whereas The Hon^ble. John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn Esquires true and absolute Proprietaries of the said Province in and by their certain Patent or grant bearing date the Eighteenth day of May One thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Three for the consideration therein mentioned did grant bargain release and confirm unto a certain Mathias Kish by the name of Mathias Keach a certain tract of land situate in Warwick Township in the said County bounded and described as follows viz.: Beginning at a post in the line of Leonard Graws land . . . to a corner of Jacob Kleins Land . . . to Ulrick Sucks land . . . to beginning containing one hundred and seven Acres and the usual allowance of six acres ℔

Cent for Roads and Highways with the appurtenances To hold to him the said Mathias Keach his Heirs and Assigns forever as in and by the said recited patent or grant recorded at Philadelphia in patent Book A. vol 11 page 159 &c the 12th. Day of July 1743 reference thereto being had may appear

And Whereas the proprietarys of the said Province in and by a Certain other patent or grant date the Tenth Day of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty for the consideration therein mentioned did give grant Release and Confirm into Mathias Kish a certain other tract of land Situate in Warwick Township aforesaid bounded and Described as follows viz.: Beginning at a marked White Oak and from thence extending by the Land of the said Mathias Kish south—to Beginning Containing Twenty Three Acres and an allowance proportional to six acres per cent. for roads and Highways with the appurtenances To hold to him the said Mathias Kish his Heirs and Assigns forever as in and by the said Patent or grant recorded at Philadelphia in Patent Book A Vol. 14 page 521 &c the Twenty Fourth October One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty reference thereto being had will likewise appear

And WHEREAS by a certain warrant from the said Proprietaries dated the Fifteenth day of November One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty one there was surveyed unto the said Mathias Kish a cer-

tain other tract or parcel of Land adjoining the lands above described containing about Forty Acres (be the same more or less) and the said Mathias Kish being so as aforesaid seized in fee and possessed of and in the said three tracts or parcels of land died intestate leaving issue the above named Christian Kish his eldest son, Anna Kish, John Kish, Katharne Kish, Abraham Kish, Jacob Kish David Kish and Anna Maria Kish to and amongst whom the said three tracts or parcels of land descended and Came agreeable to the Acts of General Assembly of the said Province of Pennsylvania made for settling intestate Estates subject nevertheless to the dower third of Katharine Kish Widow and Relict of the said Mathias Kish deceased of and in the same during the term of her Natural life and Whereas at an Orphans Court held in Lancaster for the County aforesaid the twenty Fifth day of March One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty One it appeared to the said Court by an inquisition taken on the premises by virtue of a former order of the same Court of the first Tuesday of March One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty One the real estate lands and tenements of the said Mathias Kish deceased consisting of the three tracts or parcels of land with the appurtenances could not be divided to and amongst all the children of the said Mathias Kish deceased without injury to and spoiling of the whole and the same Real Estate Lands and Tenements being in and by the same

Inquisition Appraised at and for the Sum of Three Hundred and Fifty Pounds lawful money of Pennsylvania It was considered by the same Court and agreeable to the petition of the said Christian Kish Eldest Son of the said Mathias Kish deceased It was ordered and adjudged that the said Christian Kish on paying or securing to be paid the several and respective shares of the other children of the said deceased of and in the said valuation within twelve months according to the direction of the Acts of General Assembly of the said Province of Pennsylvania Hold and Enjoy the said three tracts pieces or parcels of Land with the appurtenances in fee agreeable to the directions of the same Acts and the said Christian Kish having well and faithfully paid off and Discharged the shares of Anna Kish who intermarried with peter Kreitzer above named and John Kish two of the said deceaseds children who have then attained their ages of Twenty One years and having also well and sufficiently secured the payment, of the several shares of the other Children of the said deceased to-wit Katherine Kish Abraham Kish Jacob Kish David Kish and Anna Maria Kish as appears by a certain Instrument in writing under the hands of Christian Larier Conrad Mack and Christian Kish their guardians dated the Twenty First day of May One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Two NOW THIS INDENTURE witnesseth that the said Christian Kish and Sophia his wife for and in consider-

ation of the sum of Three Hundred and Sixty One Pounds and Fourteen Shillings lawfule money of Pennsylvania to them or one of them in hand well and truly paid by the said Peter Kreitzer at and before the execution hereof the receipt and payment whereof they do hereby acknowledge and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof do exonorate and release and forever discharge the said Peter Kreitzer his Heirs and assigns by these presents Have and each of them Hath granted bargained sold aliened enfeoffed Released and confirmed and by these presents do and each of them Doth grant bargain sell alien enfeoff Release and Confirm unto the said Peter Kreitzer his Heirs and assigns all of those three above mentioned and Described Tracts of Land Situate in Warwick Township in the County of Lancaster aforesaid containing one of them one hundred and seven acres and the usual allowance proportionable to six acre Per cent for Roads and Highways according to the courses and Distances bounds and Limits above set forth and expressed and also the above mentioned tract or parcel of land adjoining the Lands aforesaid surveyed to the said Mathias Kish by virtue of the Proprietary warrant aforesaid containing about Forty Acres (be the same more or less) Together with all and singular the Houses out Houses Edifices and Buildings thereon erected and being and all the ways waters watercourses woods and underwoods Trees Fences Gardens

orchards Liberties priveleges advantages Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever thereto belonging and in any wise appertaining and the Reversion and Reversions Remainder and Remainders thereof and also all the Estate Right Title Interest Use Trust property possession claim and demand whatsoever of them the said Christian Kish and Sophia his wife and of each of them both at Law and in Equity or otherwise howsoever of in and to the said three tracts or parcels of Land above mentioned and Described Containing one Hundred and Seven Acres and allowance Twenty three acres and allowances and about forty Acres Hereditaments and premises hereby granted and released (or meant mentioned or intended so to be) with their and every of their Rights members and appurtenances unto the said Peter Kreitzer his Heirs and assigns forever at and under the payment of the residue of the Purchase money Interest and Quit Rent due & to become due for the said forty acres (or thereabouts) to the Honorable the Proprietaries of the said Province and Chief Lord or Lords of the Fee thereof and the said Christian Kish doth hereby grant for himself and his Heirs that he and they the said Described tracts or parcels of Land containing one Hundred and seven acres and allowance Twenty three acres and allowance and about forty acres Hereditaments and premises hereby granted and released (or mentioned or intended so to be) with their and every

of their appurtenances Subject as aforesaid unto the said Peter Kreitzer his heirs and assigns against him the said Christian Kish and the said Sophia his wife and his Heirs and against all and every other person and persons whomsoever lawfully claiming or to claim the same or any part thereof by from or under him them or any or either of them or by from or under the said Mathias Kish (his late Father) deceased and against the said Katharine the widow and relict of the said Mathias Kish deceased shall and will warrant and forever defend by these presents IN WITNESS whereof the said parties to these presents their hands and seals have hereunto interchangeably set dated the day and year first above written

(Signed) Christian Gish
her
Sophia × Kish
mark

G

WILL

PETER KRATZER:
DECEASED :

IN THE NAME OF GOD

Amen the 20th day of September in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Eighty I Peter Kratzer of Warwick Township in Lancaster County and State of Pennsylvania (Farmer) being weak in Body but of Perfect Mind and Memory thanks be given unto God therefore calling unto mind the morteality of my Bodey and knowing that it is appointed for all Men once to die do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament that is to say Princepely and first of all I give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of God that gave it and for my Bodey I recommend to the Earth to be Buried in a Christian like and desent manner at the discretion of my herein and after named Executors, nothing Doubting but at the General Resurection I shall receive the same again by

the mighty Power of God and as tuching such Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to Bless me in this Life I give devise and dispose of the same in this following manner and form. Imprimis it is my Will and I do order that in the first place all my Just Debts and funeral Charges be paid and Sadisfyed. Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved Wife Ann the Sum of Tow hundred Pounds in Gold or Silver first and foremost to be reased out of my Estate together with the following articles (to wit) all the beds Bed steds and the Bed Cloths to them belonging that is now in the House and all the Linnen and Lincey of any sort whatsoever, her Choice of tow Mares, five milk Cows and a Heffer & three Cows out of my Stock with the full Geers for the tow Horse Creators, one Plantation Waggon, one Plough and a Harrow, Ten head of Sheep, and all my Hogs and all the Iron Pots and Kettles in the House or belonging to me, likewise all the Copper, Brass, Puter, Iron and Tin Ware in the Kitchen and all the Woden vesels, the Cloths Press and Kitchen Dresser, the House Clock, tow Tables, one Chest, the 2 Stoves in the House, and all the Chears, Benches and Spinning Wheels in the Hous, and all the Books, except Acct Books, and all the Willows and other Baskets, and all the Old and new Flax, Hemp and Tow, all the dryed meat and aples, the Dough Trough her Saddle and Bridle, and all the Grain and Hay whatsoever in the

House, Barn, Stables or Mow, the Wind mill and Cutting Box, the half Bushels, and all the Sives, Shubles Hows, Axes, Flails and rakes, the apple mill, and all the Bees and Beehives and Pottrey on the Place, six Cow Chains, all the Tanners Bark now on hand, and all my Tools and utensils, belonging to my Tan-yard To hold to her Heirs and Assigns forever for and in Lue of her of my Estate. And further it is my will that my wife Ann shall have and keep Posion of the Plantation whereon I now live and to have at her Ellection the full and entire use and Benifet of the same for and during her Natreal life. Item I give and bequeath unto my well beloved Son John Kratzer the Sum of Fifteen Pounds in Gold or Silver first and foremost for his Birth right to be reased out of my Estate.

Item I give and bequeath untomy said Son John the Piece or small Tract of Land whereon he now lives To hold to him his Heirs and Assigns forever, and the same I apprais to One hundred and Ten Pounds but if my Son John should not think fit to take the Place aforesaid at that Price, or Abraham Weltmer shouldent be able tomake and deliver a good Title for the same as per agreement. Then the Con-sideration money which may be recorered back from said Abraham Weltmer for his not Performing Agree-ment shall be divided amoungst my Children herein and after mentioned in Shear and Shear alike and my

Son John not to be Chorged Rent for the Time he lives on the Place if not longer then Six year

Item it is my Will and I do order that the Plantation I bough of John Lowman shall be rented or sold after my Decease, as it may seem best and to the most Advantage by my Executors and likewise the Plantation whereon I now after the Deth of my wife Anna aforesaid And further it is my Will that my Nine Cheldren (to wit) John, Anna, Marey, Abraham, Susanna, Jacob, Peter, Elizabeth Christian and Cathrenia shall all have Shear and Shear alike of all my Real and Personal Estate (except what is herein before excepted) And further it is my Will that if any of my Children should dye under age or without Issue then such Child or Children's Part or Shear of my Estate shall and in such case be divided in Share and Shear alike amoungst the remainder of my Children. To hold to them their Heirs and Assigns for ever. And I do nominate Constitute appoint my beloved Wife Ann and my loving and trusty Friend Abraham Myer and Rudey Beam my absolute and Sole Executors of this my last Will and Testament, and I do hereby utterly disalow revoke and disanoll all and every other former Will Testament or Seagacee by me in any ways before this Time named Willed and bequeathed ratefying and confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament. In Witness

whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and year first above written.

Petter Kratzer (Seal)

Signed sealed published pronounced and declared by the said Peter Kratzer as his last Will and Testament in the Presence of us the Subscribers, John Groff, John Thomas Junior, N. Ceasy

H

WILL OF ABRAHAM GISH

In the name of God Amen. I Abraham Gish of Donigal Township in the County of Lancaster and State of Pennsylvania being sick and weak of Body but God be thanked of sound understanding Therefore I commend my soul into the Hands of God who gave it and my Body I order to be decently interred And on the Tenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine I made and published this my last will and Testament in manner following.

First I order that all my just debts shall be paid out of my estate.

Item it is my will that my wife Susanna Children shall carry on the husbandry untill next spring and if they then choose to continue the same longer untill the youngest of my three eldest sons viz. Jacob Abraham and John (that is the youngest of them) attains his lawful age or takes possession of his land.

Item it is my will that my Plantation on which I now live shall be and belong to my three eldest sons that is to say Abraham shall have his share thereof adjoining David Koble's land Jacob shall have the middle part and John the part on which I now dwell with the House and Barn as it now is And the Executors shall with four or five impartial men value and appraise the same as equal as they can and for what price each of them shall have his share and how much each of them shall pay to the rest of his brothers and sisters yearly and they shall divide the land as equal as possible and appraise it to each of them when they take possession thereof. Item it is my will that in case any of my three sons mentioned above shall die without Heirs then the next or eldest who did not get land shall have it And it is my will that the old Orchard shall be divided into three shares that is Jacob shall have one share and Abraham one share for the term of fifteen years and then it shall fall back again to the share where the House stands on.

Item it is my will and I order that my friends first my son Jacob John Haldiman and Martin Nissley shall give sign seal and deliver Deeds unto my sons as also to Christian Lougenecker and Abraham Zimmerman to them their Heirs and Assigns forever.

Item it is my will that my eldest son Jacob shall have a Right to have and take a horse which he may choose in lieu of his second share further it is my will

that all my children shall be equal shares one like the other.

And further it is my will that my wife Susanna shall have a right in the House or Kitchen chamber also in the Kitchen and cellar as and for the dwelling place during the time she remains my widow Further it is my will that my two sons Jacob and Abraham shall yearly pay unto the mother Ten Pounds in money that is each of them five Pounds Also twenty five bushels of wheat (that is twelve bushels and a half yearly) Also ten bushels of rye (that is each five bushels yearly)

Further it is my will that my son John shall give unto the Mother Ten bushels of Indian corn Ten bushels of Buckwheat yearly delivered on her loft or to the mill and back again as she has occasion for it Further my sons Jacob and Abraham shall yearly give her each of them Twenty five Pounds fat pork one Hundred Pounds fat Beef that is each of them fifty pounds yearly also twenty pounds of handed Flax yearly (that is each of them Ten Pounds) And further my three sons shall each of them deliver her four cords of fire wood ready cut to the House to the stove kitchen and Bake oven.

Further my son John shall give Twenty Pounds of handed Hemp and fifteen Pounds of wool yearly and further my widow shall have a right to the one third Part of the Garden and manured as is necessary also

a Potato Patch and a grass Patch for her cows and she shall have a right to take one of my cows which she chooses and my son John shall keep her in further pasture as his own and my son John shall allow her a stable to keep two hogs in and she shall have a right to the orchard in three shares to take apples for drying and apple butter for the winter and John shall give her a barrel of good boiled Cyder and a barrel of water Cyder yearly And further it is my will that when my widow gives up housekeeping then she shall have a right to take as much of the household furniture as much as she has need of

And further it is my will that if any of my sons should stay after they attain their age and be obedient and work faithfully then he shall have Twenty Pounds yearly and each of my daughters if they remain after their age at home and work then she shall have Eight Pounds yearly.

And further it is my will that any Executors shall have no right to take an Inventory until the housekeeping is given up and Further it is my will that if my widow should not choose to live with my son John then the Executors shall order a House to be built for her to the Spring near John Longenecker also a Garden well fenced and manured yearly also a stable and further for one cow and straw as much as she has need of also a Bake oven and all these things shall be justly and Faithfully performed during the time she remains

my widow And further it is my will that my trusty Friends my son Jacob John Haldiman and Martin Nissley shall be the Executors and Guardians of this my last will and Testament making thereby null and void all other Testaments declaring this and no other to be my last will and Testament In witness whereof I have hereto set my Hand and Seal on the day and year first within mentioned wrote and signed before the subscribes Further my sons shall furnish the mother with a horse when she chooses to ride.

(Witnessed by Samuel Betzner, Christian Gish John Stern—Proved December 30, 1789.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT should here be made of my indebtedness to many for courtesies and aid of many kinds. If I undertook to name names I should not know where to begin and, having begun, there would be nowhere to stop. So please one and all accept my thanks in this anonymous way.

I sincerely hope that none of you will find cause to regret that you were in any way concerned in the preparation of this book.

J. I. HAMAKER

Lynchburg, Virginia
November, 1939.

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